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ADDISON TO THE EARL OF STAIR.[1]

My Lord, Whitehall, June 3rd, 1717.

I am to acknowledge the honour of your Excellency's letters of the 2nd, 5th, and 9th instant, which I did not fail to lay before the king upon the receipt of them, though I had not till this morning an opportunity of receiving his Majesty's pleasure upon them. I am now to acquaint your Excellency that it is with great satisfaction the king finds the good disposition of the Regent, and that his Majesty takes it as a very particular mark of his friendship in not suffering the late Lord Marr to go to the waters of Bourbon, unless he had been able to produce his Majesty's passport. And it is no less agreeable to his Majesty to hear of the Regent's late endeavours to discover and drive out of the French dominions such others of the rebels as may still be in that kingdom.

As to what you mention of the Czar, there are many reasons that incline the King to believe he is not so indifferent in the cause of the Pretender as he would have the Regent think. However, his Majesty is glad to find that what the Czar has thought fit to declare on that head to the Regent is agreeable to his Royal Highness. And upon this occasion your Excellency will please to let the Regent know how extremely sensible the King is of the kind regard he has shown to his interests in not entering into any treaty with the Czar, without first communicating the same to his Majesty.

Your Excellency will likewise in a more particular manner represent his Majesty's satisfaction in observing that the Regent concurs with his Majesty in his sentiments about the departure of the troops out of Mecklenburgh, which is so necessary for the repose of Europe; and that he looks upon it as a most convincing proof of his friendship, that he has made instances to the Czar upon that subject. As your Excellency has probably been introduced to the Czar, it is hoped that some of your next letters may acquaint his Majesty with

[1] Lord Stair was at this period ambassador to the French King, with instructions to watch the proceedings of the Pretender; and the dexterity with which he discovered and frustrated the plans of the Jacobites is quite remarkable. He fought with Marlborough, and distinguished himself on many occasions by an almost romantic courage. As a commander and a diplomatist he certainly was one of the greatest men of the age.

the result of your conversation, if anything remarkable has happened in it.

As to the affair of the king of Prussia, I will send your Excellency a separate letter upon that subject as soon as I receive his Majesty's directions, which I believe I shall have by the next post.

His Majesty approves of what your Excellency said in relation to the Marquis d'Allegre; and you will please to let the Regent know, that the sending of that gentleman with the character of Ambassador will be very agreeable to his Majesty.

I have it particularly in command to recommend it to your Excellency to use your utmost endeavours that there be no further delays about the business of Mardyke,[1] the Commission being prepared for those who are to appear as eye-witnesses on his Majesty's part, pursuant to the treaty; and they will be hastened over immediately. The persons who are named Commissioners for this purpose are, Col. Armstrong of the Ordinance, and Mr. Ackworth, Surveyor of the Navy, to whom is added Col. Lascelles, an engineer, who is to supply the place of either or both of the former, in case of sickness or other necessary absence.

All I have further to trouble your Excellency with at pre-

[1] In conformity with the ninth article of the treaty of Utrecht, the port of Dunkirk was to be demolished, the dykes destroyed, and the haven filled up, as from this place the trade from England and Holland had been greatly incommoded during the late war. The French, after some demur, performed this to the *letter* of the treaty, but evaded its *spirit* by opening a new and very capacious canal at Mardyke, which was not unlikely to become as good a harbour as Dunkirk. In both this and the recent treaty of commerce with Spain, we had been outwitted, and it was not till after much time and trouble that these contracts were equitably adjusted. The Commissioners had been appointed on the 8th of June, and the king's anxiety on the subject is shown by the following letter.

SIR, Whitehall, 11th June, 1717.

I am ordered by Mr. Secretary Addison to desire that you will use all possible despatch in hastening to Dunkirk, the King having signified his commands to Mr. Secretary, that you should immediately go upon the execution of your commission. In case your instructions cannot be signed before you go, they will be sent over to you with the first opportunity, which you will please to let Mr. Ackworth and Col. Lascelles know. I am, sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,

Col. Armstrong. TEMPLE STANYAN.

sent is, that when you declare the sense the King has of the Regent's good disposition towards him, you will please to accompany it with assurances on his Majesty's part that he will omit no occasion of showing the like instances of friendship to the Regent, as any opportunity shall offer.

I am, with great respect, my Lord,
Your Excellency's most obedient and
most humble servant,
J. ADDISON.

ADDISON TO THE ATTORNEY-GENERAL.[1]

SIR, Whitehall, June 6th, 1717.

I am commanded to signify his Majesty's pleasure, that you do defer till the next term the trial of Charles Hornby for publishing a pamphlet entitled *English Advice to the Freeholders of England*, a *Hymn to the Pillory*, and other pamphlets.

It is likewise his Majesty's pleasure, that the trial of William Kitching for speaking scandalous and seditious words of his Majesty, and for drinking the Pretender's health, be put off to the same time.

I am, sir,
Your most humble servant,
J. ADDISON.

ADDISON TO THE EARL OF STAIR.

MY LORD, Whitehall, June 9th, 1717.

Your letter of the 14th instant, which came by express, having been laid before the king, I am commanded to acquaint your Excellency, that in relation to the discourse you had had with the Czar and his ministers, his Majesty is very much pleased with the great expressions of civility and friendship which have been made to him in the Czar's name, upon that occasion; to which your Excellency will please to return suitable answers on his Majesty's part.

The king is pleased, in a more particular manner, with the order that is given for the Muscovite troops to depart out of Mecklenburgh, and his Majesty hopes the Czar will complete this mark of his friendship towards him in giving such

[1] Sir Edward Northey.

further orders as may most effectually oblige the said troops to observe the strictest discipline, that they may make no more exactions on the people, nor commit any disorders upon their leaving that country.

As to the Duke of Mecklenburgh, you may assure the Czar, that the king never had it in his intention to do him any hardship; and that, therefore, the Czar has nothing to apprehend on that head, especially since that Prince is now become so nearly related to his Czarish Majesty.

I am further to signify his Majesty's pleasure to your Excellency, that you omit no proper opportunity of representing how much the king is in the same disposition towards the Czar, in order to renew a good correspondence with him, as an instance whereof his Majesty will send proper directions to Sir George Byng to facilitate the return of the Muscovite troops and galleys to Livonia and Revel.

Your Excellency will likewise please to represent how kindly the king takes the Czar's readiness to enter into measures with his Majesty in regard to a war or peace with the king of Sweden, as also to a treaty of commerce. And, though it be difficult to concert any measures of that nature till it be better known what disposition the king of Sweden is now in; yet your Excellency may acquaint the Czar or his ministers, that his Majesty will lose no time in a matter of this consequence; for which reason his Majesty intends to send over a minister on purpose to treat with the Czar, and has already given orders to prepare his instructions. I shall therefore give your Excellency no further trouble upon this subject; only that you would prevail with the Czar to let you know where that minister may find his Czarish Majesty, during the present uncertainty of his residence.

As his Majesty is very sensible of the confidence the Regent reposes in him, and of his friendship in having communicated to your Excellency all the overtures which have been made by the Czar for any Convention with the court of France, so his Majesty expects you will treat the Regent with the same openness and friendship on his Majesty's part, not only inform him of what has already passed between you and the Czar's ministers, but assure him that no steps shall be taken in any of these transactions with which H. R. H. shall not be made acquainted. You will at the same time be pleased to let the Regent know, that the king is per-

suaded they were H. R. Highness's good offices which have disposed the Czar to make these advances towards a right understanding with his Majesty.

I must not conclude this, without signifying to your Excellency his Majesty's entire approbation of your dexterity and good conduct in the part you have hitherto had in these transactions, and his Majesty questions not but you will improve all such further opportunities as may offer, in order to bring them to a happy issue.

I am, &c.

J. ADDISON.

P. S. I have received your Excellency's last letter of the 16th instant, which now lies before the king. I wish Y. E. would please to send your letters for the future in English, for the use of the committee, and to remain as vouchers in the office.

ADDISON TO THE EARL OF STAIR.

MY LORD, Whitehall, June 10th, 1717.

Your Excellency having in your letters represented, that the court of France, as well as the minister of his Prussian Majesty, have expressed a desire, that the king of Prussia should be admitted into the late triple alliance; his Majesty has been pleased to order the enclosed narrative[1] to be transmitted to you of such transactions as have passed between the courts of Great Britain and Prussia, which will not only show your Excellency upon what foot of correspondence they have been for some time, but serve as a direction to you in what manner to treat that subject, when it shall be again proposed to you.

Your Excellency is desired not to let this paper or any copy of it go out of your hands, though, at the same time, it is not thought improper, if you shall be of the same opinion, that you show it to the Abbé du Bois.

I am, with great respect, my Lord,
Your Lordship's most obedient and
most humble servant,
J. ADDISON.

[1] Not found.

TICKELL (FOR ADDISON) TO VICE-ADMIRAL CORNWALL.

SIR, Whitehall, June 10th, 1717.

By Mr. Secretary Addison's order, I am to acknowledge your letters of May 9th and 11th, which have been laid before the Lords of the Committee; but any resolution to be taken upon them is delayed till the issue of your negotiation with the Moors shall be known. As you think something certain upon that head may be fixed by the 20th of June, the Secretary waits till he has further information from you. I am, with the greatest respect,

Sir, your most obedient and
most humble servant,
THOS. TICKELL.

Mr. Secretary, being a little indisposed, hopes you will excuse his not writing himself.

ADDISON TO THE EARL OF STAIR.

MY LORD, Whitehall, June 18th, 1717.

I have laid your Excellency's letter of June 16th before the king, whom Monsieur d' Iberville [1] has acquainted with the despatches received by the court of France from the Comte de la Marck, which agree in everything with what your Excellency had written upon that head. His Majesty was pleased, in answer to Monsieur d' Iberville, to let him know that he could make no step in the affair of releasing Count Gyllenborg and Baron Gortz, till the king of Sweden had disavowed in form their practices with regard to the king and the British nation; and that his Majesty was very much surprised to find the king of Sweden had told the Count de la Marck, that he would make no such previous declaration; since it is not only a very reasonable but a very necessary proceeding between States and Princes upon such an occasion.

However, the king (to show his great desire to have this matter brought to an accommodation, and at the same time to give the Regent a proof of that confidence which he places in his friendship, and of his inclination to do everything that may be agreeable to his R. H.) is pleased to order your Excellency to signify to him, that his Majesty is willing to ac-

[1] Mons. d' Iberville was French Minister in England at the death of Queen Anne, and was so unpopular that a body of the train-bands was ordered to guard his house. *Rapin*, v. 398.

cept of a formal declaration from the Regent, as a mediator in this affair between the two crowns, acquainting his Majesty, that the king of Sweden does disown the practices of his minister against the king and the people of Great Britain, and that, upon such declaration, his Majesty will be ready to release and send back Count Gyllenborg, provided that his own minister, Mr. Jackson, be at the same time released and sent back hither.

And, that there may be no mistake in this mutual exchange of the respective ministers, his Majesty would be very glad if the Regent would suggest to you the method in which this exchange should be made, after such a declaration as that above-mentioned. As for the punishment of Count Gyllenborg for having engaged in practices in which he was not authorized by the king his master, his Majesty will leave that matter to the king of Sweden, whose honour is principally concerned in it.

Your Excellency will likewise represent to the Regent, that his Majesty is willing to concert proper measures with him for agreeing and settling with the States-General what relates to Baron Gortz, who, upon this occasion, you must observe, is in a quite different situation from Count Gyllenborg, Gortz being neither a subject nor a minister of the king of Sweden; for which reason, his Swedish Majesty has no right to demand his releasement.

His Majesty (considering how much time will be lost in sending for a declaration from the king of Sweden, especially since his Swedish Majesty shows so unreasonable an aversion to the making of such a declaration, which the king may with so great justice expect from him) has thought of this expedient to be proposed to the Regent, not doubting but it will convince H. R. H., and the whole world, how greatly desirous his Majesty is to remove all obstacles towards entering into a negotiation for the peace of the North, and consequently for the quiet of all Europe.

The king has directed my Lord Sunderland to acquaint his minister in Holland with what I now write to your Excellency, that he may give proper intimations of it to the pensioner and chief persons there. His Majesty also hopes (as he would have your Excellency acquaint the Regent) that H. R. H. will intimate to the States how much he does desire and expect, that no step should be taken by them in relation

to Baron Gortz, without his Majesty's concurrence. For, if they should do otherwise, it would not only be very disagreeable to his Majesty, but a kind of violation of the treaties between the king and the States-General, and consequently would tend very much to a weakening of those measures, which may be taken by the three powers, by virtue of the late triple alliance.

As his Majesty has already directed your Excellency to make suitable compliments to the Regent for having disposed the Czar to send orders for the removal of the troops out of Mecklenburgh, you are to desire the Regent to make further instances with the Czar, in case it should become necessary, that those his Royal Highness's good offices may prove effectual.

I am, &c.,
J. ADDISON.

ADDISON TO THE EARL OF STAIR.

MY LORD, Whitehall, 24th June, 1717.

Since my last to your Excellency, of the 18th instant, his Majesty has received accounts from his minister at the Hague, of what has passed in a conference with several members of the States-General, in relation to the affair of Baron Gortz. And, as his Majesty is very desirous to make that matter as easy as may be to the States, without prejudice to his own honour, his Majesty is therefore determined to go all lengths that the nature of such a proceeding can possibly admit of, as well with regard to Gortz as Gyllenborg; notwithstanding that the case of the one is so much different from that of the other. To this end, the king has been pleased to direct his minister at the Hague to acquaint the Pensionary and others in Holland with his Majesty being willing to accept of a declaration from the Regent as mediator in this affair, in lieu of one from the king of Sweden himself, disavowing the practices both of Count Gyllenborg and Baron Gortz; that immediately upon his Majesty's receiving such a declaration, he would exchange Count Gyllenborg for Mr. Jackson, by sending the former in a ship to Sweden, which should bring back the latter from thence. And that his Majesty, out of a singular regard to the very pressing instances of the States, would consent that Baron Gortz

should be released at the same time; upon condition, however, that he be not suffered to stay in any of the dominions of their republic; but that he be also forthwith put on board some ship, and sent away to Sweden. His Majesty at the same time desires of the States to make it a further condition with the king of Sweden, that, considering the character and behaviour of Gortz, and the troubles and difficulties he has brought them into, he may never be sent again by his Swedish Majesty into their country either with or without a character.

This being the substance of what my Lord Sunderland writes this night by express to Holland, I am commanded to transmit the same to your Excellency, that you may let the Regent know how sincere a desire his Majesty has to do all that can be done, on his part, towards procuring the quiet of the North, and likewise towards answering the confidence his Royal Highness places in his Majesty's friendship; which, together with his Majesty's desire to satisfy the earnest solicitations of the States upon this head, and to decline all measures that may possibly involve his people in a new war, are the principal reasons that could dispose his Majesty to give way to so great a piece of condescension in a case which, considered in all its circumstances, is without example. However, as the king has taken this resolution, his Majesty will give immediate orders for the release both of Count Gyllenborg and Baron Gortz, as soon as he shall receive from the Regent such a declaration in form as is abovementioned.

I take this occasion of acquainting your Excellency, that one John Bowdridge, late Receiver-General of the Land-Tax for the county of Somerset, is gone off with about twelve thousand pounds of the public money; and information being given that he has got into France, his Majesty would have your Excellency represent this matter to the Regent, and make such instances as you shall think proper for seizing the said Bowdridge and his effects, in order to prevent the loss the public is likely to sustain thereby. He is described to be a tall, handsome man, of a brown complexion, at least six foot high, aged about 35 years, and speaks very little of any language but English.

Your Excellency will please to represent this to the Regent, rather as a request from his Majesty than as a demand, since

it is thought no such can be made by virtue of any treaty; though foreign states have shown compliances of the same nature on such an occasion, even when the money carried off has only belonged to private persons, as your Excellency may particularly remember in the case of Pitsin.

Your Excellency is likewise to signify to the Court of France, that his Britannic Majesty's two ministers at Copenhagen having interested themselves in obtaining a free passage for the letters of his Excellency the Count de la Marck through Denmark, all they have been able to obtain of his Danish Majesty is, that the ambassador's paquet may be sent by the governor of Elsinbourg to the governor of Elsineur to Hamburgh to Monsieur Poussin, the envoy of France, and that the paquets from the Court of France to the Count de la Marck should be sent by the governor of Elsineur to the governor of Elsinbourg. But his Danish Majesty would not consent that the expresses of the Count de la Marck, or of the Court of France to him, should pass through Denmark, nor that the said ambassador may send his paquets on board of vessels hired on purpose from Ystedt to Lubeck.

I am, &c.,

J. ADDISON.

ADDISON TO THE LORDS OF THE TREASURY.

MY LORDS, Whitehall, June 29th, 1717.

The king having been pleased to appoint by commission under the great seal John Armstrong and Jacob Ackworth, Esquires, and in the absence of either or both of them, Thomas Lascelles, Esquire, to inspect the demolition of the works at Dunkirk and Mardyke, pursuant to the late treaty of defensive alliance between Great Britain, France, and Holland; I am commanded to signify his Majesty's pleasure to your Lordships, that they should be paid at the rate of three pounds per day for their service in the said commission; that is to say, that Mr. Armstrong and Mr. Ackworth should be paid, each of them, at the rate of three pounds per day, during the time of their attending upon the place in the execution of the said commission, and that Mr. Lascelles should be paid the like sum of three pounds per day, during such time as he shall supply the absence of either or both

the other two, in the execution of the said commission; for which your Lordships will please to give the proper directions.

It is his Majesty's further pleasure, that your Lordships should order to be advanced to Mr. Armstrong and Mr. Lascelles the sum of two hundred pounds to each of them, on account of their said allowances, and one hundred pounds only to Mr. Ackworth, in regard that it is uncertain how long he may be able to attend the said service.

I am, my Lords,
Your Lordships' most obedient and
Most humble servant,
J. ADDISON.

ADDISON TO THE EARL OF STAIR.

MY LORD, Whitehall, July 12th, 1717.

Notwithstanding my letters of yesterday's date to your Excellency, which I despatched by a messenger, I am commanded to send you this likewise by express, that no time may be lost in making the proper application to the French Court with regard to the releasing of Gortz and Gyllenborg.[1] That your Excellency may be fully informed of his Majesty's intentions in this particular, I herewith enclose to your Excellency an extract of my Lord Sunderland's letter to Mr. Whitworth at the Hague, as far as it relates to this matter.[2]

I am to acquaint your Excellency, that messengers were despatched last night to Plymouth, in order to bring Count Gyllenborg to Harwich, where he is forthwith to embark, and, according as the States shall determine, to send Baron Gortz in the same ship or in one of their own; the said ship is either to cross over to Holland, to receive the said Baron

[1] Count Gyllenborg, or Gillenburgh, as it is sometimes spelt, was Swedish ambassador in London. Baron Gortz was a favourite of the king of Sweden, but not a minister, and was by birth a German. They were accused on good evidence, procured chiefly by the Earl of Stair, of conspiring to place the Pretender on the throne. The former was seized at his house in London, the latter at Arnheim in Holland. A full account of this affair is given in Rapin. The letters which passed between Count *Gyllenborg*, the Baron *Gortz*, *Sparre*, and others, "relating to a design of raising a rebellion on his Majesty's dominion, to be supported by a force from Sweden," were published "by authority," in folio, (37 pages,) London, 1717.

[2] Not found.

on board with the Count, or proceed immediately with the Count alone from Harwich to Gottenburgh. According to the method that has been settled of exchanging Count Gyllenborg for Mr. Jackson, it is expected that the latter of them should be put on board his Majesty's ship, before the other be set on shore; so that it will be necessary for your Excellency to apply to the Regent, that a courier may be immediately despatched by the Court of France to Sweden, giving advice of Count Gyllenborg's being ready to arrive at Gottenburgh, and demanding that Mr. Jackson be sent without loss of time to that port, in order to their mutual exchange. That there may be no mistake in this matter, it will be proper to let the Court of Sweden know, that the commander of his Majesty's ship has orders not to set Count Gyllenborg on shore, till he has actually received Mr. Jackson on board.

The enclosed extract[1] is sent at large to your Excellency for your particular information; you will please to communicate only such parts of it as you shall think necessary for the present occasion. I am, &c.,

J. ADDISON.

[1] Enclosure. Son Altesse Royale vois avec beaucoup de satisfaction, que les soins qu' Elle a employés au nom du Roi, pour prévenir les suites de ce qui s'est passé à l'egard du Sieur de Gyllenborg et du Baron de Gortz, Ministres du Roi de Suède, n' ont pas été infructueux, puisque ses offices ont également été admis par sa Majesté Britannique et par sa Majesté Suedoise.

Comme Son Altesse Royale est instruite des veritables dispositions du Roi de Suède par les Depêches du Sieur Comte de la Marck, confirmées encore par les assurances du Sieur Coonstrom, Envoyé Extraordinaire de ce Prince pres du Roi, Elle a ordonné au Sieur d'Iberville de donner la presente Declaration au Roi de la Grande Bretagne, et d'assurer de sa part Sa Majesté Britannique, que le Roi de Suède n'a jamais eu, et qu'il n'a point encore intention de troubler la tranquillité de la Grande Bretagne, qu'il n'est entré dans aucun des desseins attribués à ses Ministres, que ce Prince regarderoit comme une chose injurieuse pour lui le simple soupçon qu'il eût eu part à de pareils projets, et qu'il se propose, lorsque ses Ministres lui seront remis, d'examiner leur conduite pour en faire bonne justice, s'ils sont abusé de leur caractère.

Après la presente declaration S. A. R. espère que le Roi de la Grande Bretagne voudra bien prendre la resolution de renvoyer le Sieur de Gyllenborg au Roi son Maître, sous l'engagement qu' Elle prend que le Sieur Jackson sera aussi remis en liberté sans aucun

ADDISON TO THE COMMISSIONERS (AT MARDYKE).

GENTLEMEN, Whitehall, July 15th, 1717.

I have received your letter of the 7th instant, O. S. giving an account of your arrival at Dunkirk, and have laid the same before his Majesty, who is glad to find the French have begun to work upon the demolition at Mardyke, and hopes some of your next will give a further account of their progress therein. In the mean time, I enclose his Majesty's instructions to you for the execution of your commission, and am, gentlemen,

Your most obedient, humble servant,

J. ADDISON.

ADDISON TO THE LORDS COMMISSIONERS OF TRADE.

MY LORDS, Whitehall, July 15th, 1717.

It being for his Majesty's service, that the accounts of the revenue in the plantations be constantly transmitted hither, in order to his Majesty's being informed, from time to time, of the true state thereof, as occasion may require, I am commanded to desire your Lordships will remind the respective governors of their instructions in that behalf. And, as your Lordships may have some of the said accounts by you, I am for the present to desire that you would let me know how the revenue of the *quit-rents* in *Virginia* stands; that is to say, whether that revenue be appropriated to any particular use, and whether it be not absolutely in the disposal of the Crown. Your Lordships' answer is desired as conveniently as may be.

I am, &c.,

J. ADDISON.

retardement. Et comme le Roi d'Angleterre a bien voulu faire connoître à Son Altesse Royale, qu'il ne refuseroit pas à sa consideration et à celle de les Etâts Generaux des Provinces Unies de consentir à ce que le Baron de Gortz soit aussi remis en liberté, Elle est persuadée que Sa Majesté Britannique ne differera pas aussi d'expliquer ses intentions sur ce sujet.

Fait à Londres ce 29th Juillet, 1717.

D'IBERVILLE.

ADDISON TO THE EARL OF STAIR.

My Lord, Whitehall, July 17th, 1717.

Your Excellency's letters of the 4th, 5th, 7th, 10th, and 14th instant, N. S., have been laid before his Majesty, who entirely approves of your conduct in the several steps that have been taken in relation to the strengthening the good intelligence between his Majesty and the Czar, to whom his Majesty has despatched Sir John Norris as his Envoy Plenipotentiary, in pursuance of what was promised by your Excellency to Prince Kurakin.

The instances used by your Excellency for sending out of the French dominions the late Duke of Ormond, and the Earl of Marr, are very agreeable to his Majesty, as are likewise the applications you have made for hastening the demolition of Mardyke, for the release of the English sailors condemned to the galleys, and the seizing of Bowdridge, the receiver of the land-tax. I need not repeat to your Excellency the sense his Majesty has of the Regent's ready compliance with any demands of the like nature, for which your Excellency will continue to make suitable compliments in his Majesty's name.

Upon what your Excellency has transmitted hither in relation to the island of Martinico, his Majesty would not lose the first opportunity of testifying the great regard his Majesty bears to what the Regent has communicated to you upon that head; and that nothing may be omitted, on his Majesty's part, that may contribute towards the quiet and security of that part of the French dominions, I have, therefore, signified his Majesty's commands to the respective governors, not only of the islands in the neighbourhood of Martinico, but likewise of all his Majesty's provinces in America, that they should not give the least protection or encouragement to any of the rebels; but that, on the contrary, they should take all proper measures for discountenancing and suppressing them; which you will please to acquaint the Regent with; and I herewith transmit to your Excellency duplicates of the letters I have writ upon this occasion, which are to be delivered to the French ministers, that they may take such opportunities as they shall find proper for transmitting them to his Majesty's governors, in case any of those sent from hence should miscarry, or not arrive time enough.

I am commanded to transmit likewise to your Excellency the enclosed paper with relation to the King of Prussia, which you will please to look upon as a part of what has been formerly communicated to you upon that subject.

Since I received from your Excellency the copy of the Regent's declaration with regard to Gortz and Gyllenborg, you will find the affair of Gortz has taken another turn, which has occasioned some little alterations; and therefore I enclose to your Excellency a copy of it, as it was settled yesterday with Monsieur d'Iberville.

I am, with great respect, &c.,

J. ADDISON.

ADDISON TO VISCOUNT STANHOPE.

MY LORD, Whitehall, July 18th, 1717.

Having at last got over that troublesome affair of MANNI, the Venetian, I take leave to enclose to your Lordship an account of the expense thereof, amounting to one hundred and sixty-five pounds, eighteen shillings, and threepence. I declined giving your Lordship any trouble before about the money deposited for this purpose; but now that the whole is settled, and Manni is not likely to give the government any further trouble, I must beg you will please to order the payment of the above sum to Mr. Thomas Bambridge, who has been very instrumental in bringing this matter to a conclusion; for which reason I have taken the liberty to add an article of ten pounds as a gratification of his trouble.

I am, my Lord, your Lordship's
most obedient and most humble servant,

J. ADDISON.

ACCOUNT OF CHARGES RELATING TO MANNI'S AFFAIR.

	£	s.	d.
29th May, 1717. Paid to Manni . .	150	0	0
To Sloop-hire		10	9
To provisions and two watermen . .	3	4	6
To a Pass	2	8	0
	£155	18	3
To Mr. Bambridge for his trouble .	10	0	0
Total	£165	18	3

ADDISON TO THE LORDS OF THE TREASURY.

MY LORDS, Whitehall, July 22nd, 1717.

Lieutenant John Cossley having been sent express hither from the island of Minorca, with letters relating to his Majesty's service, and having given me the enclosed account of the charge he was at in performing that journey, amounting to the sum of forty-seven pounds and one shilling; it is his Majesty's pleasure, that your Lordships should give the necessary orders for paying to the said Lieutenant Cossley the said sum of forty-seven pounds and one shilling, on account of the said journey.

I am, my Lords, your Lordships' most
obedient and most humble servant,
J. ADDISON.

TO THE HONOURABLE JOSEPH ADDISON, ESQUIRE, PRINCIPAL SECRETARY OF STATE TO HIS MAJESTY.

Lieutenant John Cossley, having been sent express by my Lord Forbess, Commander-in-Chief in the island of Minorca, with letters to your Honour, upon the motion of the Spanish men-of-war from Cadiz into the Mediterranean, and having also brought a letter to his Majesty from the Bey of Tripoli, was at the expense of forty-seven pounds one shilling, the particulars of which are mentioned in the annexed bill, in performing the said journey, which he did in nine days from Marseilles to London;—he humbly prays your Honour will be pleased to order him to be re-imbursed, and such further consideration for his trouble, care, and diligence, as his Majesty shall think reasonable.

JOHN COSSLEY.

THE ACCOUNT OF MY EXPENSES FROM MINORCA TO LONDON.

	£	s.	d.
The Packet from Mahon to Marseilles . .	3	10	0
Travelling and expenses from Marseilles to Lyons	9	8	6
Travelling and expenses from Lyons to Paris .	20	8	10
Travelling and expenses from Paris to Calais .	8	3	8
Boat from Calais to Dover	3	0	0
Travelling and expenses from Dover to London .	2	10	0
	£47	1	0

John Cossley.

ADDISON TO THE EARL OF STAIR.

My Lord, Whitehall, July 25th, 1717.

I have laid before his Majesty your Excellency's letter relating to the admission of the king of Prussia into the Triple Alliance, and the mediation of the French king in the peace of the North.

As to the first, his Majesty is very well pleased with the reasons you have alleged against it in your conversation with the Abbé du Bois, which your Excellency will be able to enforce upon the perusal of the minutes, which I lately transmitted to you by his Majesty's order. To which I must further add, that, by advices received from Vienna, his Majesty is informed that the emperor has declared he will not come into Alliance, in case the king of Prussia be admitted.

As for the second point—that of the French king's mediation in the peace of the North—his Majesty is no less pleased with the answer which your Excellency has made to that overture. However, as the king is ready to comply with everything that may be reasonably expected of him by the Regent, his Majesty, having already admitted him as mediator in the affair of Count Gyllenborg and Baron Gortz, is willing this mediation should extend to all other matters in dispute between the crowns of Great Britain and Sweden, which his Majesty thinks may be a means of preparing the way to his mediation in the peace of the North. Nevertheless, since his Majesty cannot act in this particular, but in concert with the rest of the Allies of the empire, he is of opinion, that the only method which the Court of France can make use of, in order to carry this point, will be to induce his Swedish Majesty to make it his request, that the king of France should be joined with the emperor in the mediation.

Mons. d'Iberville has spoken to the king's ministers on this point; and, in case it can be brought to bear, has mentioned something of a place to be appointed by the Regent for treating the peace of the North; which would doubtless raise a new difficulty, since it is certain the emperor would not depart from the nomination he has already made as to that particular. But it is thought this difficulty might likewise be got over by the Regent's naming *Brunswick* as his

own choice, without any regard to its being already named by the emperor as the place of treaty.

I should not have troubled your Excellency upon this second mediation, which properly relates to the king's affairs in Germany, might not the prospect of it dispose the Regent to be more active and favourable in carrying on his mediation between the crowns of Great Britain and Sweden, to the satisfaction of his Majesty and the advantage of these his kingdoms.

As for the other letters I have received from your Excellency, since this which I now answer, they have been laid before the king, and are under the most serious consideration; so that I hope, in a very little time, to signify to you his Majesty's commands on the several particulars contained in them.

I am directed to enclose to your Excellency an extract of a private letter from Mr. Whitworth[1] to my Lord Sunderland, together with the extract of a letter to the said Mr. Whitworth.

His Majesty, having sent some commands to Sir Robert Sutton, which ought to be transmitted to him with all possible despatch, and the last advices giving an account that he is landed at Toulon, and therefore may probably pass through Paris, in his way to England, I am commanded to enclose a letter for him to your Excellency, that it may be conveyed to him by the very first opportunity.

I am, &c.,

J. ADDISON.

Extract of Mr. Whitworth's[1] private letter to the Earl of Sunderland, dated at the Hague [16] July 27, 1717.

I here enclose an extract in relation to the Czar and the king of Prussia's designs in France, because it comes from a very good hand, and that I find by one from my Lord Stair, of the 23rd in-

[1] Charles Lord Whitworth was the political *élève* of George Stepney, and attended that statesman through several courts of Germany. At the date of the present letter he was envoy extraordinary to the Hague. In 1704 he was envoy to the Court of St. Petersburgh, and in 1710 went thither again as ambassador extraordinary, to pacify the Czar, who was furious at the arrest of his minister in London, by some tradesmen to whom he was indebted. See p. 371. Mr. Whitworth wrote his "Account of Russia in 1710," during this trip, and it was afterwards printed at Strawberry Hill by Horace Walpole.

stant, that he had some such suspicions. Perhaps it might not be amiss to send him this extract for his information, and that he may get more light into it from Mons. Kniphausen. As letters that way are often liable to be opened, there are some things which I cannot send directly.

'A D., ce 15 de Juillet, 1717.

J'oubliois de vous dire que Mons. d'Ilgen vient de servir un nouveau plat de son métier à l'occasion de la negotiation qui etoit sur le tapis en France, et qui n' est pas encore bien rompue. Il en a fait le premier plan, et a porté le Czar, sinon à faire le voyage en France, au moins à entreprendre la negotiation que le Comte de Rottenbourg a en commission de faire goûter à la Cour de France. Celle-ci en effet la goutoit. On étoit actuellement convenu de tout, mais lorsqu'il s'agissoit de signer, Mons. de Kniphausen, digne gendre de Mons. d'Ilgen, s'en est excusé sous pretexte de n' avoir pas d'assez ample pouvoir.

Ce n'est pas que je regarde comme un fort grand malheur, que de cette façon là la negotiation en question ait été disloquée, et le Czar un peu brouillé avec Sa Majesté Russienne; mais j'ai cru vous devoir rapporter (mais *sub rosâ*) ces particularités, que je tiens de bon endroit, pour vous faire remarquer que Mons. d'Ilgen est toujours le même.

ADDISON TO THE COMMISSIONERS OF CUSTOMS.

GENTLEMEN, Whitehall, July 29th, 1717.

I am commanded by his Majesty to transmit to you the enclosed extracts of letters from Mr. Davenant, his Majesty's Envoy at the republic of Genoa, and Mr. Fleetwood, his Majesty's Consul at Naples, relating to poisoned liquors, which are suspected to have been lately sent from Naples into several countries, that you may give such directions upon this information, as you shall think proper.

I am, gentlemen, your most obedient,
humble servant,
J. ADDISON.

Extract of a letter from Mr. Davenant to the Right Honourable Mr. Secretary Addison.

Genoa, July 20th, 1717.

I must desire you to lay before his Majesty the necessity of giving proper orders at the custom-house for seizing all strong waters, particularly citron waters, that come from Naples, it being suspected that there are a set of people there, who, out of execrable malice, scarce to be comprehended, mix poison with those liquors. The

poison is called *Aquetta di Tufania* from a Greek woman, whose name was Tufania.[1] About thirty years ago she came to Sicily, and there distributed this poison. The Duke of d'Uceda, then viceroy of Sicily, put several to death that made use of it, but finding so many of the nobles engaged in it, he was forced to put a stop to those processes, the crime being too general. This secret is since got to Naples, and many have been sentenced to death for using it. There are at this time several under examination, particularly two Friars, a nun, and a Genoese, called Bolando, whc formerly commanded one of the Duke of Twisi's galleys.

Since this discovery, when any of these strong waters are sent here, the Inquisitors of State seize on them, to examine whether they are poisoned, which they do by giving a quantity of them to dogs kept for the purpose, and Signior Grimaldi, one of the Inquisitors of State, told me yesterday they had a case of the liquors, which by their advices from Naples they suspect to be poisoned.

Two of these criminals made their escape out of the prison of Naples, and are fled to Spain, where a description of their persons has been sent, in order to have them apprehended.

An extract of a letter from Mr. Fleetwood, consul at Naples, to Mr. Secretary Addison.

Naples, June 11th, 1717.

Last week two German soldiers were burnt for infamous actions, and three Neapolitan women (of which one a house nun) hanged for making and selling a poisonous water, called *Aqua Tufania*, by which above 600 persons have been poisoned. They pretended religion and conscience to keep the world in ease and quiet, by giving the husband means to rid himself of his wife; the father, of a disobedient son; a man, of his enemy, &c.; and so *vice versâ*. A great many more are in prison and under information on that account.

ADDISON TO THE COMMISSIONERS AT MARDYKE.

GENTLEMEN, Whitehall, August 5th, 1717.

Your letter of the 29th past, N. S., having been laid before the king, I am directed to acquaint you, in answer thereto, that my Lord Stair is directed to procure such an order as you desire for the demolition of the jetties. In the mean time, his Majesty is pleased to approve of what you have represented on that head, and questions not but you will continue so to do, as anything shall occur, that may

[1] An interesting account of this *Aqua Tofana*, and of secret poisoning in general, will be found in Beckmann's History of Inventions, vol. i. p. 52 (Bohn's edition).

hinder or retard the speedy and effectual execution of your commission.

I am, gentlemen,
Your most obedient, humble servant,
J. ADDISON.

ADDISON TO THE EARL OF STAIR.

MY LORD, Whitehall, August 5th, 1717.

Mr. Stanyan having in his last letter to Mr. Crawford owned the receipt of your Excellency's letters of the 17th, 21st, and 28th of July, I am now to acknowledge those of the 1st, 9th, and 7th instant, N. S.

Your Excellency's letter of the 28th of July having been read in the cabinet-council, his Majesty and their Lordships were highly satisfied with your Excellency's reasonings upon the expedition now set on foot in Spain; and I am to acquaint your Excellency, that his Majesty has, by an express, ordered his minister at that court to demand of the Spaniards to explain themselves upon the design of the said expedition. His Majesty has likewise thought fit to direct a person of quality and figure to be in a readiness to repair to that court; as soon as he shall be better informed of that design, who will have instructions to take the court of France in his way, and consult with your Excellency on such measures as shall be thought proper to concert with the Regent in so nice a conjuncture. In the mean while, your Excellency will continue to give such advices concerning this affair, as may occur to you from time to time. Those your Excellency has already sent, have met with the utmost attention, and are more particular than any which have come from other parts.

His Majesty has been under some uneasiness to hear the court of France should not proceed regularly in the demolition of the jetties at Mardyke; but your despatch of the 7th instant giving hopes, that this work will be now carried on in the manner the treaty prescribed, I am to acquaint your Excellency, that his Majesty is well pleased with the instances you have made on this occasion, with the Regent and the ministers, and that these your instances are likely to prove effectual.

The copy of the memorial enclosed in your letter of the

1st instant, was very acceptable, as it serves to discover the sentiments of the Czar, and may give some light into that Prince's designs.

I am with great respect, &c.,
J. ADDISON.

ADDISON TO THE LORDS COMMISSIONERS OF TRADE.

MY LORDS, Whitehall, August 22nd, 1717.

I have laid before his Majesty your Lordships' letter of the 3rd of July last, relating to some ill practices made use of to keep up divisions and foment disorders in NEW JERSEY, together with the extract of a letter from Brigadier Hunter, the governor thereof, complaining of malicious reports raised against him; and am commanded to acquaint your Lordships, that his Majesty is very well satisfied with the conduct of the said governor; which you will please to signify in such a manner as you shall think the most likely to silence such reports and defeat such practices for the future.

I am, my Lords,
Your Lordships' most obedient and
most humble servant,
J. ADDISON.

ADDISON TO THE EARL OF STAIR.

MY LORD, Whitehall, September 2nd, 1717.

The receipt of your Excellency's letters, which came during my late indisposition, having been acknowledged to Mr. Crawford, I am now to acquaint your Excellency, (being recovered enough to apply myself to the business of my office,) that they have from time to time been laid before the king, who expressed the highest satisfaction in your Excellency's conduct, and in the early and punctual accounts you have sent, not only of what passes in the court of France, but in other parts of Europe. I cannot omit taking notice, on this occasion, to your Excellency that, if the person, intrusted with the news of Prince Eugene's victory, had been as expeditious in bringing your advices as he might have been, his Majesty would have received the first account of

that agreeable news from your Excellency, and about a day sooner than he had it from the Imperial Minister.

H. M. is very well pleased with your Excellency's application and success relating to the several difficulties which his commissioners have met with in the demolition of Mardyke, and hopes that your Excellency will be able to get over those that yet remain in the prosecution of that work; the said commissioners having acquainted H. M. that the French do insist on a very material point, which they apprehend to be contrary to the tenor of the Treaty, and concerning which they have written at large to your Excellency.

Enclosed I transmit by his Majesty's command a copy of a letter from Colonel Hamilton, governor of the Leeward Islands, together with some papers relating to a designed settlement of the French at St. Lucia, and the seizing of an English ship by the governor of Martinico, that your Excellency may please to represent those matters in the most effectual manner at the French court, in order to prevent the one, and obtain a redress of the other.

I am, &c.,

J. Addison.

ADDISON TO THE LORDS COMMISSIONERS OF TRADE.

My Lords, Whitehall, September 3rd, 1717.

Several papers and reports from your Lordships having been laid before the king and the Lords of the committee, I am to signify to your Lordships his Majesty's pleasure on each of them respectively.

As to your Lordships' report of April the 16th last, about the yearly sum of £1000 current money of Antigua, granted by the assembly of that island, in lieu of house-rent, to Walter Hamilton, Esq., governor of the Leeward islands; his Majesty being satisfied from your Lordships' representation of that matter, that the instruction which restrains the said governor from passing any law or act for any gift or present to him by any of the assemblies of the said island, except an assignment for his house-rent, not exceeding £400 per annum, is liable to many objections, as set forth in your Lordships' said report; as likewise that £1000 current money of Antigua answers to very little more than £400 sterling; and his Majesty being further well satisfied with the conduct of

the said governor in declining to receive any part of the said sum, granted by the assembly, till his Majesty's pleasure should be known therein; I am to acquaint your Lordships, that his Majesty is graciously pleased to permit the said governor to receive the fore-mentioned sum of £1000 per annum during his royal pleasure; and your Lordships are to prepare a new instruction in place of the old one beforementioned, which may effectually restrain governors from receiving gifts and presents, and yet not be liable to the difficulties and objections mentioned in your Lordships' report.

Pursuant to your Lordships' report of the 6th of May last, on the representation of Ambrose Weston and William Cleeves, late Fishing-Admirals at the island of St. Peter's, adjacent to Newfoundland, complaining of illegal trade practised there by one Gallantry, alias Tulon, a native of France; his Majesty approves of the conduct of the said Fishing-Admirals, as justifiable by law and agreeable to their duty. But, in consideration that the said Tulon, among others remaining at St. Peter's, took the oaths of fidelity to his Majesty, and engaged in the fishing in confidence of her late Majesty's letter and the orders given thereupon, it is his Majesty's pleasure, that the produce of the fish taken by the said Tulon at St. Peter's, and sent to Bilboa, be restored to him the said Tulon, after the said produce has been returned from Bilboa to his Majesty, according to the tenor of your Lordships' report.

Upon your Lordships' report of the 31st of May last, relating to the piracies committed in the West Indies, and particularly in the seas about Jamaica, his Majesty being sensible that the British trade in those parts is thereby in great danger, he has been graciously pleased to give such orders thereupon, as have been recommended by your Lordships. In the first place, his Majesty has signified his pleasure to the Lords of the Admiralty, that one fourth-rate and two fifth-rate men of war be ordered to those seas, to suppress the pirates and protect the trade, unless their Lordships have already made other sufficient provision for that service; in which case they are to acquaint me therewith, that I may lay the same before his Majesty without loss of time.

2ndly, His Majesty has ordered a proclamation to be prepared, with an assurance of his gracious pardon to the said pirates, provided they come in and surrender themselves with-

in a limited time. 3rdly, his Majesty has appointed a governor of the Bahama Islands, who will be enabled to drive the pirates from their lodgment at Harbour Island and Providence, represented by your Lordships to be the general receptacle of the pirates.

In answer to your Lordships' letter of the 8th of July last, containing the extract of a letter from Colonel Hamilton, governor of the Leeward Islands, dated the 15th of May, 1717, and other papers relating to a settlement intended by the French at St. Lucia, and the confiscation of a British ship at Martinico, and your letter of August the 6th last, containing the copy of a letter from Colonel Spotwood, Lieutenant-governor of Virginia, dated the 31st of May last, together with a representation from him and the council of that colony, concerning the seizure of an English ship by the Spaniards, and making several of his Majesty's subjects prisoners, I am to acquaint you that I have received his Majesty's commands to transmit the former to his Majesty's ambassador at the court of France, and the latter to his Majesty's envoy extraordinary at the court of Spain, that the proper applications may be made for redress, in his Majesty's name, on the respective complaints therein exhibited.

In pursuance to your Lordships' report, of the 26th of July last, on the petition and proposal of Captain Woodes Rogers,[1]

[1] This is the bold and adventurous Capt. Woodes Rogers who made a cruising voyage round the world, first to the South Seas, thence to the East Indies, and homeward by the Cape. He was one of the earliest navigators who went so far to the southward. "We have no night here," he observes on the 10th of January, when, after outriding a tremendous storm, he had reached the island of Juan Fernandez. "Having sent our boat on shore," he says, "our men returned bringing abundance of craw-fish, with a man clothed in goat-skins, who looked wilder than the first owners of them." This was no other than the celebrated ALEXANDER SELKIRK, the original of De Foe's ROBINSON CRUSOE. He had been on the island four years and four months, being left there by Capt. Stradling, whose ship came with Capt. Dampier. After leaving Juan Fernandez, Rogers and his crew captured and plundered the town of Guayaquil, took the Aquapulta, and several other rich Spanish prizes, and then put into California for repairs. It was nearly two years after this before he reached England. In 1717, as is seen by the present letter, and one dated Oct. 14th, (page 496,) he was appointed Governor of the Bahama Islands, where he exterminated the pirates infesting those parts, and fitted out several ships for carrying on a trade with the Spaniards in the Gulf of Mexico. In 1721 Rogers transmitted to Mr. John Ker of Kersland a long Memoir of his government, which will be found in Ker's Mem. vol. iii. p. 22—34, published 1726.

about fortifying and settling the Bahama Islands, his Majesty being very well satisfied with your Lordships' representation of the importance of those islands to the British trade and navigation in those parts, as also with the character which is given of the said Captain Rogers by the most considerable merchants of London and Bristol, as a person every way qualified for such an undertaking, he is pleased to appoint the said Captain Woodes Rogers to be governor of the Bahama Islands, and of the garrison which shall be sent thither, and to order your Lordships to prepare drafts of a commission and instructions for that purpose; that the same may be laid before his Majesty for his Royal approbation.

Your Lordships' representation of the 16th instant, upon the memorial of Lord Archibald Hamilton, relating to a sum of two thousand seven hundred and six pounds six shillings and three pence, advanced by his Lordship and the council of Jamaica for subsisting his Majesty's forces there, and to other demands on account of his Lordship's salary, &c., having been also laid before his Majesty, he is graciously pleased to approve the same; and, whereas your Lordships have set forth that the assembly of Jamaica did neglect to re-imburse the said sum of £2706 6*s.* 3*d.* though recommended by his Majesty's letter of the 13th of May, 1715, I am to signify to your Lordships his Majesty's pleasure, that the said sum of £2706 6*s.* 3*d.* be paid to the Lord Archibald Hamilton and others to whom the same is due, out of the first and readiest of the revenues of that island unappropriated. But, in case your Lordships find the entire revenue of the said island to be appropriated, your Lordships are to draw up an instruction for Sir Nicholas Lawes to recommend to the assembly at their next meeting, in the most effectual manner, to make provision for so just a debt; and, whereas the memorialists lent the said sum to supply the exigences of government, and this debt has stood out so long a time, and whereas likewise very large interest has been allowed by an act of assembly, on the 10th of November last, to Colonel Haywood, the present commander-in-chief of Jamaica, for money advanced by him on the like service, it is his Majesty's further pleasure, that interest be also paid to the memorialists according to the ordinary rate of interest in Jamaica, for so long a time as they have been kept out of their money; and, as to the arrears of salary and

other debts claimed by the Lord Archibald Hamilton out of the revenues of Jamaica, his Majesty defers to declare his pleasure therein, till Sir Nicholas Lawes, after his arrival there, shall have transmitted an account of what shall appear to be justly due to his Lordship.

Your Lordships having in your letter of the 28th instant represented the necessity you are under of having recourse, from time to time, to several of the plantation laws, but that by reason the said laws are contained in several large bundles of parchment, it is difficult and tedious to come at what is immediately wanted; for which reason your Lordships think it will be for his Majesty's service, that you should have an order to his Majesty's printer to print, from time to time, such of the said laws as your Lordships shall send him;—his Majesty is graciously pleased to comply with this your Lordships' proposal, and I am to give such an order to his Majesty's printer as is therein mentioned.

I am, &c.,
J. ADDISON.

ADDISON TO THE LORDS COMMISSIONERS OF THE TREASURY.

MY LORDS, Whitehall, September 6th, 1717.

The king having been pleased to direct Vice-Admiral Cornwall, his Majesty's Plenipotentiary for treating and concluding a peace between his Majesty and the Emperor of Fez and Morocco, to pay three thousand dollars and the further sum of five hundred pounds to the ministers and officers of the said Emperor, as likewise the sum of ten thousand dollars, alleged by the Court of Alequinez to have been promised by Captain Paddon, his Majesty's late Plenipotentiary there, in order to facilitate the success of that negotiation and the release of his Majesty's subjects there under captivity; his Majesty commands me to signify his pleasure to your Lordships, that you do immediately direct credit to be given to the said Vice-Admiral Cornwall at Gibraltar, for the respective sums of three thousand dollars, five hundred pounds, and ten thousand dollars above-mentioned.

I am, my Lords, your Lordships'
Most obedient and most humble servant,
J. ADDISON.

ADDISON TO THE LORDS COMMISSIONERS OF THE TREASURY.

My Lords, Whitehall, September 6th, 1717.

I transmit to your Lordships, by His Majesty's commands, a copy of a letter from the Lords Commissioners of Trade and Plantations to me, with a copy of a letter from the Lieutenant-Governor of Virginia to the said Commissioners, and accounts of His Majesty's revenue of two shillings per hogshead on Tobacco, and of His Majesty's quit-rents in Virginia; and the said Lieutenant-Governor taking notice in his said letter, that the 2*s.* per hogshead on tobacco (appropriated for the support of the government) falls short of discharging the last half-year's salaries, £1973 10*s.* 4*d.*; but that there is in the Bank of the revenue of the quit-rents £3766 1*s.* 4*d.*; and therefore desiring that so much of the quit-rents, as will discharge the said debt on the establishment, may be applied for that purpose, (as has been heretofore done in like cases,) His Majesty is pleased to refer these matters to your Lordships' consideration.

I am, my Lords,
Your Lordships' most obedient,
humble servant,
J. Addison.

Memorandum.

The Papers enclosed were,

Copy of a Letter from the Lords Commissioners of Trade to Mr. Secretary Addison, dated Whitehall, August 15th, 1717.

Copy of a Letter from Col. Spotswood to the Right Honourable the Lords Commissioners of Trade, dated Virginia, May 30th, 1717.

The Accounts of His Majesty's Revenue of 2*s.* per hogshead, &c., arising within the colony of Virginia, from the 25th day of October, 1716, to the 25th day of April, 1717.

Account of His Majesty's Revenue of Quit-rents, &c., from the 25th of April, 1716, to the 25th of April, 1717, received within the colony of Virginia.

ADDISON TO THE EARL OF STAIR.

My Lord, Whitehall, September 6th, 1717.

Mr. Churchill being now going to France, to solicit the French Court to make good their contract for transporting prisoners during the late war, and it having been form-

erly recommended to your Excellency, by his Majesty's command, to assist him in that affair, I am to desire your Excellency will continue your endeavours to procure Mr. Churchill satisfaction in his demands.

I am, with great respect, my Lord,
Your Excellency's most obedient and
Most humble servant,
J. ADDISON.

ADDISON TO MR. DAYROLLES,

RECALLING HIM FROM THE REPUBLIC OF GENEVA.

GEORGE R.

Trusty and well-beloved, We greet you well. Having thought fit to recall you from your employment of our Resident with the Republic of Geneva, in order to employ you in our service at the Hague, we herewith send you our letters, notifying the same to the senate of Geneva; you are to deliver these our letters in the usual manner, accompanying them with such expressions of our friendship and assurances of our regard for their interests, as you shall judge proper. After which, you are to repair with all convenient speed to the Hague, where you will meet with our instructions and other despatches necessary for your guidance in our affairs there. And so we bid you farewell.

Given at our court at Hampton Court, the ninth day of September, 1717, in the fourth year of our reign.

By his Majesty's command,
J. ADDISON.

(*Endorsed*) To our trusty and well-beloved James Dayrolles, Esq., our Resident at the Republic of Geneva.

THE SAME IN LATIN.

(*Composed by Addison.*)

GEORGIUS,

Dei gratia Magnæ Britanniæ, Franciæ, et Hiberniæ, Rex, fidei defensor, &c., Amplissimis consulibus et senatoribus civitatis Genevensis, amicis nostris perdilectis, salutem. Amplissimi consules et senatores, amici nostri perdilecti, cum nobis visum fuerit revocare fidelem et dilectum Jacobum Dayrolle, armigerum, qui Residentis nostri munere apud vos fungitur, ut ipsius operâ in aliis negotiis uteremur, id vobis hisce nostris literis significandum duximus, rogantes ut ami-

citiæ nostræ, quâ vos et rempublicam vestram studiosè complectimur, contestationem, quam nostro nomine facturus est, plenâ fide accipiatis, persuasumque habeatis nos idoneam quamlibet occasionem haud prætermissuros, quâ animi nostri in utilitates vestras admodum propensi uberiora exhibeamus indicia. De cætero, vobis et civitati vestræ fausta omnia apprecamur.

Dabantur in Palatio nostro apud Hampton Court, die nono mensis Septembris, anno Domini, 1717, regnique nostri quarto. Vester bonus amicus,

Georgius R.

J. ADDISON.

ADDISON TO MONS. L'ENVOYE DE DANEMARC.

MONSIEUR, à Whitehall, ce 9me Sepbre, 1717.

Votre Memoire touchant les pretensions de Sa Majesté Danoise sur l'isle de St. Thomas et autres petites isles adjacentes ayant été remis aux Seigneurs Commissionnaires du Commerce pour l'examiner, je vous envoie par ordre du Roi, la Rapport qu'ils ont fait là dessus à Sa Majesté, et suis,

avec beaucoup de respect,
Monsieur, votre trés humble et trés
obeissant Serviteur,

J. ADDISON.

ADDISON TO THE EARL OF STAIR.

MY LORD, Hampton Court, Sept. 2nd,[1] 1717.

I am commanded by his Majesty to acquaint your Excellency, that it is his pleasure you should insinuate to the Regent his desire that H. R. H. would look on the late Lord Bolingbroke as under his Majesty's protection, to prevent any insults that may be offered him on account of the inclination he has shown to serve his Majesty and reconcile himself to his royal favour. H. M. likewise desires your Excellency to make no difficulty in granting a pass to Mr. Brinsden,[2] in case he should apply for one, in order to come for England, &c.

J. ADDISON.

[1] The MS. of this letter is dated Sept. 2nd, but Miss Aikin refers to a "minute" of it, as dated Sept. 12th. The difference between O. S. and N. S. would make it 13th.

[2] Mr. Brinsden was in Lord Bolingbroke's service.

ADDISON TO THE LORDS OF THE TREASURY.

MY LORDS, Whitehall, September 16th, 1717.

Mr. James Auchmuty, chaplain to the Commander-in-Chief of the island of Minorca, having been sent express hither from the said island, with letters relating to his Majesty's service, and having given me the enclosed account of the charge of his journey hither, and back again to Minorca, amounting to seventy-eight pounds, ten shillings, and four-pence; it is his Majesty's pleasure, that your Lordships should give the necessary orders for paying to the said Mr. James Auchmuty the said sum of seventy-eight pounds, ten shillings, and four-pence.

I am, my Lords, your Lordships'
Most obedient and most humble servant,
J. ADDISON.

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE JOSEPH ADDISON, ESQUIRE, ONE OF HIS MAJESTY'S PRINCIPAL SECRETARIES OF STATE.

The Memorial of James Auchmuty, chaplain to the Governor and Commander-in-Chief of the island of Minorca, humbly showeth,

That your Memorialist, being appointed by the Lord Forbess (who commands in Minorca) to bring thence his Lordship's expresses to this court, and in the way, having the charge of others from his Excellency the Lord Stair, (both which, because of your Honour's late indisposition, he delivered in to my Lord Sunderland,) begs leave to set forth the expenses of his journey by the following particulars:

That having no affairs of his own that called him to England, and consequently desirous of returning immediately, your Memorialist further represents the reasonableness of having his charges back again allowed him also; and therefore has presumed to add them to the account.

				£	s.	d.
From Ciudad (where the Packet landed me) to Marseilles . . .	15	10	0			
From Marseilles to Calais, 133 posts at 3 livres per post in chaise .	399	0	0			
To crossing of rivers . . .	7	10	0			
To the hire of a post-chaise .	60	0	0			
	482	0	0	=32	1	2
To 19 days on board the Packet between Mahon and Ciudad, at 5 per diem . . .				4	15	0
Carried forward				36	16	2

	£	s.	d.
Brought forward	36	16	2
To the Master of the said Packet . . .	2	0	0
To the Master of the Calais Packet	1	1	6
From Dover to London	2	2	6
To 13 days' expenses from Ciudad to London . .	6	10	0
Expenses in returning	30	0	0
	£78	10	2

ADDISON TO THE LORD-LIEUTENANT OF IRELAND.[1]

My Lord, Hampton Court, Sept. 19th, 1717.

I have received the honour of two letters from your Grace, of the 7th and 10th instant, both of which I have laid before his Majesty, who approves your Grace's answer to the persons who applied to your Grace for leave to present a petition to the House of Commons, in behalf of the College of Dublin, for a sum of money to finish their library. At the same time H. M. is pleased that you should let them know, that he is willing, by this mark of his royal favour, to encourage those honest and loyal principles, which (as he hears with great satisfaction) begin to revive among them.

As to your Grace's letter of the 10th instant, containing an account of the proceedings of the House of Lords, in relation to Mrs. Sherlock's petition, H. M., having received the opinion of the Lords of the committee upon that matter, is pleased to direct, that your Grace should use your utmost endeavours to hinder that affair from being brought to any decision till the money-bills are passed the House of Commons. And, as H. M. is sensible of the ill consequences which may arise from a rupture between the House of Lords in this kingdom and that in Ireland, and as the sum of money which gives occasion to this dispute is too inconsiderable to be put in balance with the good understanding that ought to be kept up between the two kingdoms, H. M. had rather allow it out of the public revenue of Ireland than that the peace and tranquillity of the kingdom should be endangered. If therefore your Grace can by this means procure the petition to be withdrawn, or, by any other private application to the parties contending, moderate the proceedings in this case, it is H. M.'s pleasure that such a sum should be employed for so good an end. And whatever assurances your Grace

[1] The Duke of Bolton.

shall give on this occasion, will be made good here by an order from H. M. on the Treasury.

I am commanded by H. M. to transmit to your Grace the enclosed answers to the addresses of the House of Lords and of the House of Commons, that your Grace may communicate them to the two Houses in the usual manner.

I am, &c.,
J. ADDISON.

ADDISON TO THE EARL OF STAIR.

MY LORD, Hampton Court, Sept. 19th, 1717.

Mr. Cornish, one of the most eminent citizens of London, has informed some of his Majesty's ministers, that Mr. Anthony Cornish, his son, having lost a great sum of money at play, has gone off with £2500 of his father's, and sailed from Dover on Sunday last, with a design, as is supposed, to proceed to Paris. His father makes it his request, on this occasion, that your Excellency may be desired to give such orders as you shall think proper for the finding out of the young gentleman. And it will be looked upon as a great favour, if your Excellency will be so good as to persuade him in private conversation to return to his father, who will receive him with all possible kindness, and freely excuse what is past. His interest is so highly concerned in this point, that one would not think it should be difficult to bring it about; and the father hopes the more from your Excellency's good offices, as his son has boasted of the civilities you were pleased to show him when he was at Paris about a year ago. But, in case he refuse to comply in that particular, you are, in his Majesty's name, to desire leave of the Regent, if it be necessary, to secure his person, and send him over to England.

I am, &c.,
J. ADDISON.

ADDISON TO THE BOARD OF ORDNANCE.

GENTLEMEN, Whitehall, Sept. 26th, 1717.

His Majesty having been pleased to appoint Captain Woodes Rogers[1] to be governor of the Isle of Providence and

[1] See note, page 477.

the rest of the Bahama Islands, the Lords Commissioners of Trade have thereupon signified their opinion to his Majesty, that it would be necessary for the security of those parts, and likewise for the further answering the intent of the said Rogers's commission as governor, that there should be a garrison formed and maintained in the said Isle of Providence. In pursuance of which opinion, Captain Rogers has been directed to give in a list of the stores requisite for the said intended garrison, together with a computation of the charge thereof, which having been approved by his Majesty, I am commanded to transmit the same to you,[1] and to signify his Majesty's pleasure, that you give the proper directions for furnishing the said Captain Rogers with the said stores, pursuant to the enclosed list, and that his Majesty's service requires the same should be done as conveniently as may be.

I am, gentlemen,
Your most obedient, humble servant,
J. ADDISON,

ADDISON TO THE COMMISSIONERS OF TRADE.

MY LORDS, Whitehall, September 26th, 1717.

Having laid before his Majesty the enclosed Memorial of the Lord Archibald Hamilton, late governor of Jamaica, setting forth his demand of money advanced by him for the subsistence of the forces belonging to that island, and complaining of the disaffection and ill practices of several members of the council of the said island, as likewise of the deputy secretary thereof; I am commanded to transmit the same to your Lordships, together with the copy of a letter from the said deputy secretary to the said Lord Archibald Hamilton, and the extract of another letter from Mr. Bernard to his Lordship, that you may please to consider thereof, and report to his Majesty what you think proper to be done thereupon.

I am, my Lords, your Lordships'
Most obedient and most humble servant,
J. ADDISON.

[1] It has been thought unnecessary to print the list of stores, which is long and of no particular interest. The gross amount of them is £1946 3*s*. 10*d*.

THE MEMORIAL OF LORD ARCHIBALD HAMILTON.

Au Roi.

Sire,

Le Lord Archibald Hamilton, ci-devant gouverneur de la Jamaïque, represente très respectueusement à Vôtre Majesté, que durant tout le temps de son administration, il a fait tous ses efforts pour agir à tous egards conformement à ses instructions et au devoir de sa charge, pour le maintien de l'autorité Royale de Vôtre Majesté, manifestement attaquée par des gens violens et malins.

Que Vôtre Majesté lui fit l'honneur d'appreuver sa conduite de tems en tems, lorsque sur les representations qu'il fit de plusieurs membres du Conseil de Vôtre Majesté dans cette isle, qui par leur mauvais comportement avoient donné des marques de leur aversion au service de Vôtre Majesté, Elle trouva bon d'en temoigner son deplaisir, en les faisant congédier de son Conseil.

Que Vôtre Majesté, par sa Lettre Royale sous le Sceau Privé, trouva bon de requérir plusieurs choses de l'Assemblée, indispensablement necessaires pour la sureté et la prosperité de cette isle, et entre autres leur recommenda de donner la subsistence necessaire et accoutumée à ses deux Compagnies Independantes dans cette isle, et d'acquitter une dette de £2706 6*s*. 3*d*.; lequel argent avoit été avancé par le dit Lord Archibald Hamilton et le Conseil d'alors pour ce service; mais la dite Assemblée ayant refusé hautement d'acquitter cette dette, elle est encore à payer aujourdhui.

Que, quoique par une des instructions de Vôtre Majesté au dit Lord Archibald Hamilton, par lui communiquée au Conseil et à l'Assemblée de la Jamaïque, il leur fut expressement commandé (en cas qu'il vint à y avoir quelque sujet de plainte contre leur gouverneur) de donner à tel gouverneur une Copie de leur accusation, afin que sa defence et sa response puissent arriver ici et être considerées ensemble, néanmoins le dit parti dans l'Assemblée, sachant que comme il n'y avoit point de juste sujet d'accusation, ainsi s'ils chargoient le dit Lord Archibald Hamilton de mauvaise administration, en la maniere equitable et publique prescrite par les dites instructions de Vôtre Majesté, ils ne pouvoient pas esperer aucun succès.

Afin donc de venir à bout de leur mauvais dessein, et pour faire rapeller le dit Lord Archibald Hamilton de son gouvernement; une somme considerable d'argent fut injustement souscrite et recueillée par les Chefs de l'Assemblée, et remise en Angleterre, sous pretexte de solliciter ici les affairs de cette isle, procédé qui n'a point d'exemple, et contraire aux instructions de Vôtre Majesté et à celles des Rois ses predecesseurs.

Qu' à l'instigation du dit Parti, un nommé Page, Deputé Secretaire de cette isle, nullement capable, et d'un mauvais caractère, que le dit Lord Archibald Hamilton avoit refusé, pour cette raison, d'admettre à cette charge, jusqu' à ce qu' il eût reçu les ordres de

Vôtre Majesté pour cet effet, abandonna sa charge, et quitta l'isle contre les loix, sans la permission et la connoissance du gouverneur de Vôtre Majesté.

Que le dit Page étant arrivé en Angleterre conjointement avec un homme obscur, nommé Arlington, defrayés du dit argent de souscription, firent des depositions, recitant principalement ce qu' ils avaient entendu dire à des personnes ennemis du dit Lord Archibald Hamilton, touchant les vols faits sur les Espagnols, contenant en substance, que le dit Lord Archibald Hamilton avoit encouragé des personnes de pêcher sur des vaisseaux Espagnols, qui avoient fait naufrage sur la côte de Floride, et de voler les Espagnols sur leurs dits vaisseaux, et que lui-même y étoit interessé. Dans les quelles depositions les dites personnes paroissent présentement s'être parjurées de propos deliberé et de mauvaise foi.

Qu' alors il plut à Vôtre Majesté de rappeler le dit Lord Archibald Hamilton, et de nommer le Sieur Haywood pour lui succéder dans ce gouvernement, lequel avoit été mis hors du Conseil quelques mois auparavant par le dit Lord Archibald Hamilton, de l'avis unanime du Conseil, comme aussi depossedé de la charge de Chef de Justice de cette isle; la resolution de ce Conseil étant, qu'il étoit incompatible avec le service de Vôtre Majesté, que le Sieur Haywood restât plus long tems dans ces emplois de confiance dans ces tems de danger et de difficulté.

Que les nouveaux conseillers que Vôtre Majesté trouva bon de nommer avec le dit nouveau governeur, étoient les mêmes que Vôtre Majesté avoit jugé à propos de deplacer auparavant à l'instance du dit Lord Archibald Hamilton, et qui avoient toujours marqué leur opposition au service de Vôtre Majesté, et autres les plus violens de l'Assemblée, qui avoient souscrit plus amplement à la somme qui avoit été recueillie et remise, comme il a été dit ci-devant, qui alors devinrent la majorité du Conseil de Vôtre Majesté dans cette isle.

Que Vôtre Majesté trouva bon d' autorizer ce nouveau gouverneur et Conseil d'examiner la conduite du dit Lord Archibald Hamilton, et de leur donner un pouvoir absolu de s'assurer de sa Personne, pour l'envoyer ici avec des preuves suffisantes pour le convaincre selon les Lois.

Que de bien loin de se conformer aux ordres de Vôtre Majesté, touchant cette affaire, le dit nouveau gouverneur et les conseillers, dans l'examen qu'ils firent, agirent d'une manière arbitraire, partiale, et injuste, refusant au dit Lord Archibald Hamilton le droit commun du moindre sujet de la Grande Bretagne, savoir, une Copie de leur accusation, ou par aucun moyen de lui donner la moindre connoissance de ce qu' ils avoient à alléguer contre lui; en quoi ils abusoient grandement de la confiance que Vôtre Majesté avoit en eux, les mésures quils prirent n'étant que dans la seule de noircir le dit Lord Archibald Hamilton, en mettant à couvert les coupables, con-

tre l'intention juste de Vôtre Majesté de faire faire restitution aux Espagnols.

Qu' ainsi, sans être entendu, et sans savoir de quoi on l'accusoit, le dit Sieur Haywood, les nouveaux conseillers et Membres de la dernière Assemblée, se saisirent de la personne du dit Lord Archibald Hamilton, et à un jour d'avertissement l'envoyérent en Angleterre, ayant accordé un Ordre fort extraordinaire, pour ne pas dire, illegitime, pour son emprisonnement, et tout cela par une majorité d'une seule personne, et ceux-là étant nouveaux Conseillers, les autres protestant contre leurs procédures.

Que le dit Lord Archibald Hamilton, depuis son arrivée ici, a resté plusieurs mois sous caution pour comparoître et repondre à son accusation, ayant cependant sollicité souvent d'être entendu sur la dite accusation.

Que les dits gouverneur et conseillers sentant l'injustice de leurs procédures, ont tout à fait laissé tomber leur accusation, et ont mieux aimé désobeir aux ordres de Vôtre Majesté, que de procéder plus avant, ou du moins entreprendre de soutenir leur accusation.

Par toutes lesquelles choses il paroit manifestement que la dite Plainte a été suscitée par la malice des dites personnes sans aucun juste fondement, mais uniquement dans la vue de faire rappeller le dit Lord Archibald Hamilton.

C'est pourquoi, puisqu'il a tant souffert, et qu'il a été si ignominieusement traité par les dites personnes, pour avoir maintenu avec zèle l'autorité Royale de Vôtre Majesté, ayant une entière confiance en la justice et bonté connues de Vôtre Majesté, it conçoit très humblement, qu'en consideration de ses longs et fidèles services tant par mer que par terre, il merite quelques marques de la faveur Royale de Vôtre Majesté, et il supplie Vôtre Majesté, tant pour retablir sa reputation qu'on a noircie, que pour empêcher de telles mauvaises pratiques à l'avenir, de mettre les dits conseillers et Deputé Secretaire hors de leurs emplois, les premiers n'etant pas seulement toujours opposés au service de Vôtre Majesté depuis son avènement au Couronne, mais ayant aussi abusé de son autorité Royale, affoibli son gouvernement dans cette isle, et desobei à ses ordres, et l'autre ayant notoirement malversé dans sa charge.

Extract of a letter from Mr. Bernard in Jamaica to Lord Archibald Hamilton, dated June, 1717.

Turning over the patent book one day in the secretary's office, I was astonished to see the entry of a ticket from Lord Archibald Hamilton to Samuel Page, to go off the island. Page's impudence is surely unparalleled! I very well remember the letter he wrote your Lordship to excuse his going away in so abrupt a manner. If you have kept that letter, I think it may be of service to you hereafter. I desire you will send me an attested copy.

SAMUEL PAGE TO LORD ARCHIBALD HAMILTON.

March 6th, 1715. On board the Diamond.

May it please your Excellency,

My concern and your Lordship's surprise must be equally great when you see this, which is to desire, for my departing this island without your Lordship's advice, your Excellency's favourable opinion and excuse, which I the rather hope for, because the occasion was the preserving my life, which by the oaths of myself, Dr. Patrick Sinclair, and Dr. Richard Castell, and the opinion of Dr. Hoy, as per the enclosed, appears to be in danger without a recess from business, and that in a different air; which hath induced me to absent myself from my family, though with the greatest regret, but I am the more easy when I believe they shall be no sufferers under your Lordship's protection.

I humbly recommend Mr. Avery Wagstaffe to your Lordship, whom I have by writing deputed (as far as in me lies) to execute the office of Secretary and Clerk of the Enrolments during my absence. But if your Excellency shall not think fit to approve of him, I hope Mr. Peter Beckford will, for the good of my family, accept the trouble of the said offices (in virtue of Mr. Congreve's deputation to him) to your Lordship's satisfaction.

The reason why your Excellency was uninformed of my going was, lest by any means my stay might be occasioned, which so absolute a necessity forbade.

I am, my Lord, &c.,

SAMUEL PAGE.

ADDISON TO THE LORD MAYOR.[1]

MY LORD, Whitehall, September 27th, 1717.

The Chevalier Eon,[2] having been authorized by the king of Spain to act here, on the part of His Catholic Majesty, in the business of the Assiento, and his commission for that purpose having been laid before the king, I am directed to transmit the same to your Lordship, that you may please to communicate it to the members of the South Sea Company, and thereupon appoint some convenient court-day, whereon he may attend.

[1] Sir James Bateman.

[2] "Sept. 11th, 1717, arrived from Spain, the Chevalier Eon, to demand of the South Sea Company the money due to the King of Spain, on the Assiento, or Treaty of Commerce, pursuant to the Treaty of Utrecht." *Gazette.*

I thought it proper, at the same time, to send your Lordship the enclosed extract of what Mr. Bubb, his Majesty's late Envoy at the Court of Madrid, has writ to me, in behalf of the said gentleman.

I am, my Lord, your Lordship's
Most obedient and most humble servant,
J. ADDISON.

To the Right Honourable Lord Mayor,
Sub-Governor of the South Sea Company.

Extract of a letter from Mr. Bubb to Mr. Secretary Addison, dated at Madrid, the 2nd August, N. S., 1717.

Monsieur,

La presente vous sera rendue par le gentilhomme, que le Roi d' Espagne a nommé pour avoir soin de ses interêts dans l'Assiento et je me persuade entièrement qu'il a toutes les bonnes qualités requises pour repondre aux intentions de Sa Majesté en l'envoyant.

Comme il est de mes amis, et très disposé à faciliter en tout ce qui dependra de lui, la bonne intelligence et interêt commun des deux Couronnes, je prend la liberté de la recommander à vôtre amitié et protection, et je me flatte qu'il tachera par toutes sortes des moyens de se rendre digne de cet honneur-là; et que le Roi vôtre Maître et tous ses ministres auront tout lieu d'en être contens.

ADDISON TO MR. WORTLEY MONTAGUE.

DEAR SIR, September 28th, 1717.

Having been confined to my chamber for some time by a dangerous fit of sickness, I find upon my coming abroad, that some things have passed which I think myself obliged to communicate to you, not as the Secretary to the Ambassador, but as an humble servant to his friend. Mr. Benson, being convinced that forms of law would in their ordinary course be very tedious and dilatory in the affair of the auditors, has procured the grant of a reversion for those places to you and himself, after which, if an ejectment ensues, you are in immediate possession. This ejectment, he believes, may be soon brought about by law, unless a voluntary surrender make such a proceeding unnecessary. Our great men are of opinion that upon your being possessed, (which they look upon as sure and sudden,) it would be agreeable to your inclinations, as well as for the king's service, which you are so

able to promote in parliament, rather to return to your own country than to live at Constantinople. For this reason, they have thoughts of relieving you by Mr. Stanyan, who is now at the Imperial court, and of joining Sir Robert Sutton with him in the mediation of a peace between the Emperor and the Turks.

I need not suggest to you that Mr. Stanyan is in great favour at Vienna, and how necessary it is to humour that court in the present juncture. Besides, as it would have been for your honour to have acted as sole mediator in such a negotiation, perhaps it would not have been so agreeable to you to act only in commission. This was suggested to me the other day by one of our first ministers, who told me that he believed Sir R. Sutton's being joined in a mediation which was carried on by my Lord Paget singly, would be shocking to you, but that they could be more free with a person of Mr. Stanyan's quality. I find by his Majesty's way of speaking of you, that you are much in his favour and esteem, and I fancy you would find your ease and advantage more in being nearer his person than at the distance you are from him at present. I omit no opportunity of doing you justice where I think it is for your service, and wish I could know your mind as to these several particulars, by a more speedy and certain conveyance, that I might act accordingly to the utmost of my power. Madame Kilmansech and my Lady Hervey desire me to forward the enclosed to my Lady Mary Wortley, to whom I beg you will deliver them with my most humble respects.

I am ever, sir, your most obedient
and most humble servant,
J. ADDISON.

Mr. Chevalier tells me, since the writing of this, that he has stated to you Mr. Benson's and your own case, who, I find, is better acquainted with it than I am, that affair having been transacted by my Lord Sunderland during my illness.

ADDISON TO THE EARL OF STAIR.

MY LORD, Whitehall, October 3rd, 1717.

I have the honour of your Excellency's letter of the 5th instant, by which I was very much concerned to hear of

your late indisposition; but I hope you are by this time perfectly recovered of it.

Upon his Majesty's reading that article of your Excellency's letter, which relates to my Lord Peterborough, he was pleased to take very particular notice of it, and to express a great indignation both as to the fact itself of seizing an English Peer in that manner,[1] and likewise as to the pretences which have been made use of for the doing of it, which seem to carry a high reflection upon his Majesty himself.

As to the reports which are so industriously spread about Paris, his Majesty thinks your Excellency is very much in the right not to treat them seriously, being such as will naturally be confuted by every post which comes from England. His Majesty is, at the same time, very sensible of the justness of your Excellency's reasoning upon what gives occasion for these reports, and hopes that the conduct of the malcontents in France, as well of those in England, will have that good effect it ought to have upon the Regent.

Your Excellency's of the 9th instant, which came to my hands last night, was immediately forwarded to his Majesty at Newmarket.

I am, &c.,

J. ADDISON.

ADDISON TO THE LORDS OF THE TREASURY.

MY LORDS, Whitehall, October 5th, 1717.

Having received from his Grace the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland a report of the board of ordnance of that kingdom, concerning the state of the ten thousand arms, sent thither from Holland, in the time of the late Rebellion; which said report being grounded upon his Majesty's letter, directing payment for the said arms, I am commanded to transmit the enclosed copy thereof to your Lordships for your information in that matter; together with an extract of his Grace's letter to me upon that subject.

I am, my Lords,
Your Lordships' most obedient and
most humble servant,

J. ADDISON.

[1] See note, page 446.

REPORT OF THE STATE OF THE 10,000 ARMS SENT FROM HOLLAND DURING THE LATE REBELLION.

Dublin, Office of Ordnance, Aug. 6th, 1717.

May it please your Excellencies,

In obedience to your Excellencies' order of the 3rd instant to us directed, requiring us to lay before your Excellencies a true state of the condition of the ten thousand arms received from Holland, at the time of the late Rebellion in Great Britain, also which of the said arms have been employed, and which have been found unfit for service; and also an account of the quantity of ammunition sent from the Tower of London at that time; together with an estimate of the charge thereof; we humbly represent to your Excellencies that, in the time of his Grace the Duke of Grafton, and the Earl of Galway's government we were directed by their Excellencies to prove six of the said arms; and accordingly six muskets were taken out of six several chests by a French gunsmith, sent down to this office by the Lord Galway, to see them proved; of which two burst in proving, two the breeches flew out, and two stood proof; that the said gunsmith, together with the Comptroller of the ordnance and the king's armourers, examined the condition of the said ten thousand arms, and reported them to be but old musket-barrels new mounted, and not to be depended upon in service.

That there have not been any of the said arms employed or issued out of the stores to the army, by reason several of the Colonels of the regiment who viewed them, objected against them, as unfit for his Majesty's service. That, at the same time the said arms were brought over, there came four hundred ninety-six barrels of gunpowder, and two and twenty tons six hundred weight of musket-ball, the charge of which we cannot ascertain, the accounts thereof having been transmitted to the then government by the board of ordnance in Great Britain, as we are informed, and not to this board.

H. PAIN. CHARLES HAMILTON, Deputy Comptroller.
JAMES WIBAULT, BRONT. SMITH, Late Lords Justices.

Extract of a letter from his Grace the Duke of Bolton, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, to Mr. Secretary Addison.

Dublin Castle, September 28th, 1717.

I sent to the House a copy of his Majesty's letter, directing the government here to pay £12,601 10*s.* to the treasurer and paymaster of the office of Ordnance of Great Britain, for the charge of arms, ammunition, and other stores, sent into this kingdom, during the late Rebellion; together with a copy of a report from the Board of Ordnance here, in relation to the said arms; wherein, upon the proofs that they have made of them, they appeared to be unfit for service; nevertheless I do not find any steps were taken by that

government to return them, which I fear will occasion warm debates in the House of Commons, because they say they were promised that they should be forthwith returned.

ADDISON TO THE LORDS COMMISSIONERS OF TRADE.

My Lords, Whitehall, October 5th, 1717.

His Majesty having been pleased to sign the additional instructions to the governors of the several plantations in America, relating to their passing acts which may any ways affect the trade or shipping of this kingdom; I herewith transmit the same to your Lordships, that they may be forwarded to the said respective governors by the first convenient opportunity.

I am, my Lords,
Your Lordships' most obedient and
Most humble servant,
J. Addison.

ADDISON TO THE OFFICERS OF THE ORDNANCE.

Gentlemen, Hampton Court, October 13th, 1717.

The happy delivery of her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales being daily expected, I am to signify to you his Majesty's pleasure that, when it shall happen, you give order for firing the guns, as usual.

I am, &c.,
J. Addison.

ADDISON TO THE EARL OF STAIR.

My Lord, Whitehall, 14th October, 1717.

I received last Saturday your Excellency's letters of the 16th instant, N. S., which being now before the king, I hope to receive his Majesty's commands upon them in a very little time.

In the mean while, I transmit to your Excellency for your private perusal a copy of the answer given by the Court of Madrid to Mr. Bubb's Memorial upon the late Expedition to Sardinia, and shall, by the next post, send you the copy of a

letter, which I have written to Count Gallas, by his Majesty's command, on the subject of my Lord Peterborough.

I am, &c.,

J. ADDISON.

ADDISON TO THE SECRETARY OF WAR.

SIR, Whitehall, October 14th, 1717.

The Lords Commissioners of Trade having represented that it would be for his Majesty's service, that a governor should be appointed for the Bahama Islands, and a fortification erected there, and that the said governor should have the command of such a number of soldiers, as should be thought necessary for that service; which representation having been laid before the king and the Lords of the Committee; his Majesty has been pleased to appoint Captain Woodes Rogers[1] to be governor of the said islands, and likewise to direct that he should have the command of an independent Company, which, according to the representation of the said Rogers, ought to consist of a hundred men at least. And, whereas I am ordered to concert with you the most speedy and least expensive method of furnishing him with the above-mentioned number of men, I am to acquaint you that he has represented to me, that the season is too far advanced to procure these forces from any part of America, and proposes that they may be draughted out of the Guards, or any other regiments now on foot, or out of his Majesty's Hospital at Chelsea. I am therefore to desire, that you will please to inform yourself which of these methods will be most proper for this service, and that you will signify to me his Majesty's pleasure thereupon, as soon as conveniently you can, to the end that a Commission for the said Captain Rogers may be prepared accordingly.

I am, your most obedient,
Humble servant,

J. ADDISON.

ADDISON TO THE EARL OF STAIR.

MY LORD, Whitehall, October 21st, 1717.

I have your Excellency's of the 27th only to acknowledge, which came yesterday to my hands, and is now before his Majesty.

[1] See note, p. 477.

What I am chiefly to observe to your Excellency at present is, that the king having long since been assured, that the directors of the work at Mardyke, on the part of France, had received a positive order to demolish the Jetties, his Majesty has expected to hear by every post, that they were accordingly employed in that part of the demolition; but having not yet received any account thereof, his Majesty thinks it necessary, that your Excellency should insist strongly on the immediate demolition of the Jetties; and his Majesty hopes that your pressing instances, which have already removed so many difficulties in that great work, will also prove effectual in this particular.

As to the complaint of the Regent, mentioned in your Excellency's of the 20th, concerning the packet-boats, I have, by his Majesty's command, acquainted the Postmaster-General therewith, in order to have it inquired into and redressed.

His Grace the Duke of Roxburgh has put into my hands the following minute, to be transmitted to your Excellency. "*Major General Gordon stays near to Bourdeaux. He has a sister married to one Gordon, a factor there.*"

I herewith enclose to your Excellency the copy of my letter to Count Gallas, which I promised you in my last.

I am, with great respect,
My Lord, your Excellency's
Most obedient and most humble servant,
J. Addison.

ADDISON TO THE EARL OF STAIR.

My Lord, Whitehall, November 4th, 1717.

The occasion of this is, to communicate to your Excellency the joyful news, that on the 2nd instant, between six and seven o'clock in the evening, her Royal Highness, the Princess of Wales, was safely delivered of a Prince; and that her Royal Highness and the young Prince are both in good health.

I am, &c.,
J. Addison.

ADDISON TO THE EARL OF STAIR.

My Lord, Whitehall, November 5th, 1717.

I take this opportunity, upon the return of Chalke the messenger to your Excellency, to acknowledge your letters of the 30th past, and the 3rd, 6th, and 8th instant [N. S.]; all of which I have laid before the king; and, although they do not contain anything that requires his Majesty's commands to your Excellency, yet I am to acquaint you, that his Majesty is highly satisfied with your accounts, and gives them a particular attention. The king is concerned to hear of your indisposition; but I hope I shall in a little time have the pleasure of giving H. M. the agreeable news of your recovery.

I have received his Majesty's commands about O'Kelly mentioned in one of your Excellency's letters, acknowledged in my last, and have written to the Duke of Bolton to give him all fitting encouragement and protection.

In answer to the complaint made by the French king's officers at Calais against the English masters of packet-boats, as carrying on a clandestine trade, and defrauding that Crown of the duties, I enclose to your Excellency a copy of the account sent to the Postmaster-general by Mr. Lovel, their agent at Dover, who was ordered to inquire into the truth of this matter. Your Excellency will find, by his state of the case, that the French affairs at Calais have given rather than received occasion of complaint, and your Excellency will, as you find a proper opportunity, be able to return a satisfactory answer upon this subject to the Regent of France.

There is reason to believe that the officers of the marine at Calais are more officious than is necessary, and what strengthens this opinion is, a complaint lately made by them, as set forth in a memorial delivered by Mr. Chamourd Teery to the embassy here, that the English commanders of yachts refuse to take out their powder in the port of Calais; which memorial being referred to the Lords of the Admiralty, their Lordships have reported in favour of the commanders as having done their duty. I enclose the report to your Excellency for your information, to which I must add, that my Lord Berkley told me in conversation upon this subject, viz. that this demand of the French has never been made

upon us till of late, that we require no such thing of them in our ports, where there are many more ships, and consequently fear of much greater mischief; and that there is more danger in removing the powder by scattering small quantities of it, than there is in its remaining on board the ships.

Thus much I am to communicate to your Excellency; and though the matter does not lie before you at present, your Excellency will, upon occasion, be able to make a proper use of it.

His Majesty is glad to find that the French are, in all probability, by this time at work upon the demolition of their jetties.

I am, with great respect,
Your Excellency's most obedient and
Most humble servant,
J. ADDISON.

ADDISON TO THE LORDS OF THE TREASURY.

MY LORDS, Whitehall, November 6th, 1717.

His Majesty having, upon the humble representation of the Lords Commissioners of Trade and Plantations, appointed Captain Woodes Rogers to be governor of the Isle of Providence and the rest of the Bahama Islands, and it being judged expedient, that a fortification should be erected there, and a garrison established for the security of the said islands under the command of the said Captain Rogers; for which service such a quantity of ordnance and stores will be requisite, (as is specified in the list hereunto annexed,) and whereas the officers of his Majesty's ordnance, whose report is herewith enclosed, have represented that there was no money ever allowed by parliament for stores supplied to the West Indies, which has been an extraordinary burden on that office, and the occasion of his Majesty's stores being so low, and his magazines and other buildings so much out of repair, and that as the money given is appropriated to the particular services mentioned in the estimate laid before parliament; they humbly hope his Majesty will be pleased to order monies particularly for these stores, which will enable them to re-supply the same; I am therefore to signify to your Lordships his Majesty's pleasure, that you order the sum of £2003 5*s*. 10*d*. according to the computation made

for this charge by the officers of his Majesty's ordnance for furnishing the ordnance and stores above-mentioned; his Majesty having thought fit, that the garrison designed for this service, which is to consist of 100 men, should be victualled for the first year at the expense of the Crown; and the said Captain Rogers having proposed to victual the said garrison at the rate of 6*d.* per head per diem, it is his Majesty's pleasure, that your Lordships cause to be paid to the said Captain Rogers the further sum of £912 10*s.* 0*d.*, being the amount of the charge for victualling 100 men at 6*d.* per diem for one year; provided your Lordships shall find the same to be a cheap and reasonable proposal for victualling the said forces.

I am, my Lords, your Lordships' most obedient
and most humble servant,
J. ADDISON.

ADDISON TO THE LORDS COMMISSIONERS OF TRADE.

MY LORDS, Whitehall, November 6th, 1717.

Having some time since transmitted to Mr. Bubb, his Majesty's late minister at the court of Spain, a copy of your Lordships' report upon my letter of reference to you of the 20th of June last, concerning the present and new valuations of the English goods in Spain, I have received the said Mr. Bubb's answer to the several queries contained in your said report, and am commanded to transmit to you the enclosed copy of the said answer for your consideration and opinion thereupon.

I am, my Lords, your Lordships' most obedient,
humble servant,
J. ADDISON.

ADDISON TO THE DUCHESS OF ST. ALBANS.

MADAM, (Whitehall,) November 8th, 1717.

Though I did not receive the honour of your Grace's letter till my return from Hampton Court, which was at ten o'clock last night, the messenger whom I immediately despatched upon that occasion, brought me his Majesty's commands by five this morning to respite the execution of the condemned criminals. I therefore humbly entreat your Grace to acquaint her Royal Highness that the king has been

pleased to order a week's reprieve for such as are now in Newgate under sentence of death, and were to have suffered this day. A reprieve of this kind is the first usual step towards a pardon, and I hope will end in such a one as is hoped for, that the universal joy on such an occasion as is that of the young prince's birth may extend even to the persons and families of these miserable men.

I am very proud of this opportunity of performing my duty in obeying the commands which her Royal Highness has been pleased to honour me with.

I am, &c.
J. ADDISON.

THE DUKE OF (BOLTON) TO MR. SECRETARY ADDISON.

DEAR SIR, Dublin Castle, November 10th, 1717.

When I had the honour to be in this government formerly and for some time since, the clerks and officers of the two Houses of Parliament here were used to be rewarded for their extraordinary trouble and attendance during the sessions of parliament, upon particular representations from hence in their favour, proposing and allotting the sums to be given them; but the House of Commons have lately fallen into a method of giving rewards to their officers, by inserting the same in the money bills; whereby the officers of the House of Peers are left alone to particular applications as formerly. I do therefore, in behalf of them, recommend the following allowances to be made them for their service and attendance during the last session of parliament, being the like which was given them the preceding sessions:

To the Clerk of the said House	£200
To the Gentleman Usher of Black Rod	150
To the Clerk Assistant	100
To the Commrs Clerk	100
To the Reading Clerk	80
To the Serjeant at Arms	50
To the Journal Clerk	36
To the Yeoman Usher	20
To the four Door-keepers	40
To the four Messengers	20
To the Fire-maker	4
In all	£800

In my letter to you of the 23rd September last I enclosed an address which had been delivered me from the House of Commons

in behalf of the College of Dublin, that His Majesty would be pleased to bestow on them a sum not exceeding five thousand pounds, in order to finish the library of the said college, a like sum having been given them by Her late Majesty, to begin the same, which I recommended as what would be for His Majesty's service, and a bounty well bestowed, in regard the present Provost, Dr. Baldwin, is a person of so good a character, and of known zeal, loyalty, and affection to His Majesty and his government, that from his care and influence the happy conjunction of good scholars and good subjects may be expected for the public service. You were pleased, in answer to that part of my said letter, to acquaint me that you would receive His Majesty's pleasure therein, when you had informed yourself how the former sum of five thousand pounds had been directed to be paid; which occasions my now representing to you, that that sum was paid pursuant to a warrant signed by Her late Majesty, bearing date the 16th of July, 1710, and countersigned by the Earl of Oxford, then Lord High Treasurer, authorizing the then Lord-Lieutenant to give the necessary orders for issuing the same towards building the said library at such times, and in such proportions, as the government here should think the said building should require, and as Her late Majesty's service would admit thereof. When you have received His Majesty's pleasure thereupon, you will please to signify the same to the Lords of the Treasury, in the circumstances I have now represented it, to the end that I may receive a proper warrant from His Majesty for paying the same at such times, and in such proportions, as I shall see occasion, and likewise, in relation to the officers of the House of Lords.

ADDISON TO MR. CRAWFORD.

SIR, Whitehall, 12th November, 1717.

I have this evening received your letter of the 20th instant, N. S., and am at the same time to acknowledge the receipt of two packets forwarded from Dover, on Sunday last, by Sir Wilfred Lawson; but as he mentions three packets sent by express from Dover, one of which I have not received, and is probably that referred to in your letter, I must wait Sir Wilfred's arrival before I can be apprized of the contents of my Lord Stair's letter.

Your letters, except that which is just now come to my hands, have been laid before his Majesty, who returns from Hampton Court to St. James's to-morrow.

I am very glad to find, by your last account, that my Lord Stair has got over the danger of his late indisposition,

and heartily wish that his Excellency may be entirely cured of it in a little time.

I am, sir,
Your most obedient, humble servant,
J. ADDISON.

ADDISON TO THE LORDS COMMISSIONERS OF TREASURY.

MY LORDS, Whitehall, November 15th, 1717.

Having received a letter from his Grace the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, relating to a demand made on the Vice-Treasurer of that kingdom by the commissioners of the forfeited estates, for money arising from the pension and prisage of the late[1] Duke of Ormond; together with the report of the Attorney and Solicitor-General of Ireland on that subject, I am commanded by his Majesty to transmit the same to your Lordships, that you may take this matter into your consideration, and do what is proper therein.

I am, my Lords, your Lordships'
Most obedient and most humble servant,
J. ADDISON.

THE DUKE OF BOLTON TO MR. ADDISON.

SIR, Dublin Castle, 22nd October, 1717.

In my letter of the 15th instant, I represented to you the method which had been taken by the Commissioners of Forfeitures, in relation to the sum of £17,000, demanded by them of the Vice-Treasurers here, as owing at Midsummer last from this kingdom, on the pension of £5000 per annum, and Prisage Farm of £3500 per annum, payable on the late establishment to the *late*[1] Duke of Ormond, which became forefeited by his rebellion.[2] And according to the promise I then made you in the said letter, I herewith enclose to you the report of his Majesty's Attorney and Solicitor-General here, in relation thereto, who being of opinion that the said Commissioners have no power by the acts of parliament to order or direct the payment of the said money; and considering the nature of the demand, and that the same is not upon the establishment, they think it pro-

[1] Late, because degraded, not dead.

[2] The Duke of Ormond's large estates became forfeited by his adherence to the cause of the Pretender. He had been impeached by the English parliament, attainted (Nov. 12th, 1715) by the Irish, and £10,000 offered for his head. He lived however till Nov. 16th, 1745.

per, that his Majesty's directions should be had thereon. I cannot set this matter (as to its other circumstances) in a clearer light than I did in my last, and since I have taken such advice as was proper to be had in relation thereto. Nothing more remains with me, than to desire, that you will lay the whole of this affair before his Majesty, in such manner as that the same may not come in demand upon this kingdom by the said acts, till the sense of the English parliament be known thereupon.

I had yours this day, dated the 17th, and am obliged to you for your particular care that the bills I sent you were that day at council referred to Mr. Attorney and Mr. Solicitor-General, with directions for making a speedy report, which will be extremely for his Majesty's service here.

I am with great truth,
Sir, your very humble servant,
BOLTON.

ADDISON TO THE EARL OF STAIR.

MY LORD, Whitehall, November 18th, 1717.

The occasion of this is, to enclose to your Excellency the king's letter to his most Christian Majesty and the Regent, wherein his Majesty is pleased to notify to them the birth of the young Prince; which you will please to deliver in the usual manner. After which your Excellency is to desire audiences of the Duchess of Berry, the Duchess of Orleans, and the Duchess Dowager of Orleans; wherein you are to notify this good news to them.

The last letter I received from your Excellency was of the 24th instant, by which I am very glad to hear you are in so fair a way of recovery.

I am, with great respect,
Your Excellency's most obedient
and most humble servant,
J. ADDISON.

ADDISON TO THE COMMISSIONERS OF THE TREASURY. GRANT OF TRINITY COLLEGE.

MY LORDS, Whitehall, November 29th, 1717.

His Grace the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland having transmitted hither an address of the House of Commons there, desiring his Majesty will be pleased, out of his Royal bounty, to give to the Provost, Fellows, and Scholars of Trinity

College near Dublin, such sum or sums not exceeding five thousand pounds, as the Lord-Lieutenant shall, from time to time, judge necessary to be expended towards finishing the library of the said college; and the said address having been laid before the king; his Majesty commands me to send you a copy of the same, together with an extract of my Lord-Lieutenant's letter to me thereupon. And I am to signify his Majesty's pleasure to your Lordship, that you do give the necessary directions for paying the sum of five thousand pounds to the said Provost, Fellows, and Scholars of the said College, in such manner as is desired by the said address.

I am further commanded by his Majesty to send your Lordship the enclosed extract of a letter from the said Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland to me, recommending several allowances, amounting in the whole to eight hundred pounds, to be made to the officers in the House of Peers in that kingdom for their service and attendance during the last session of parliament there, being the like sum which was given them the preceding session. And his Majesty's pleasure is that your Lordship do give such directions in that matter, as has been usual.

I am, my Lords, your Lordships' most
obedient and most humble servant,
J. ADDISON.

ADDRESS OF THE IRISH HOUSE OF COMMONS
FOR A GRANT IN AID OF TRINITY COLLEGE LIBRARY.

By the Honourable the Knights, Citizens, and Burgesses in Parliament Assembled.

Sabbati 21° die Septembris, 1717.

A petition of the Provost, Fellows, and Scholars of Trinity College near Dublin, setting forth that, pursuant to the address of the House of Commons, in 1709, the petitioners received five thousand pounds, and have faithfully and carefully laid it out towards erecting a library; but that the said sum is not sufficient to finish that work; and declaring their resolution to instruct the youth under their care in principles of zeal and affection to the constitution in Church and State, and of duty and loyalty to his Majesty King George and his royal family,—was presented to the House and read.

Resolved, Nem. Con.—That this House do address his Grace the Lord-Lieutenant, that he will lay before his Majesty the humble desire of this House, that his Majesty will be pleased, out of his royal bounty, to give to the Provost, Fellows, and Scholars of Trinity Col-

lege, near Dublin, such sum or sums, not exceeding five thousand pounds, as he shall from time to time judge necessary to be expended towards finishing the library of the said College.

Ordered—That such members of this House, as are of his Majesty's most Honourable Privy Council, do attend his Grace the Lord-Lieutenant with the said address, and lay the same before his Grace.

Ex. per Bruen Worthington and
Isaac Ambrose, Cl: Parl: Dom: Comm^{s}.

Extract of a letter from his Grace the Duke of Bolton, Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, to Mr. Secretary Addison.

Dublin Castle, Sept. 23rd, 1717.

I have been this day attended with an address of the House of Commons, on behalf of the College of Dublin, that his Majesty will please to bestow on them a sum not exceeding five thousand pounds, in order to finish the library of the said College; the like sum having been given them by her late Majesty, to begin the same; and the present provost, Dr. Baldwin, (who was lately appointed thereto by his Majesty, upon the removal of Dr. Pratt to the deanery of Downe,) being a person of so good a character, and of known zeal, loyalty, and affection to his Majesty and his government, that from his care and influence the happy conjunction of good scholars and good subjects may be expected for the public service; and I herewith transmit the same to you, to be laid before his Majesty in the usual form; and take the liberty of recommending it, as what will be for his Majesty's service, and a bounty well bestowed.

ADDISON TO THE EARL OF STAIR (IN PARIS).

My Lord, Whitehall, December 5th, 1717.

I am sorry to find by Mr. Crawford's letter of the 8th instant, that your Excellency has been obliged to undergo another operation; but hope that you are, by this time, in a fair way of recovery.

Your Excellency will certainly have heard the late unfortunate affair in the royal family very much talked of, and perhaps misrepresented. For which reason, I herewith send your Excellency the enclosed paper, containing a more distinct relation of that matter than what you received by the last post in my office circular, the same having been communicated to all the foreign ministers here. I heartily wish it were possible to conceal this disagreeable story; but, as it must be public, it is fit your Excellency should know the

truth of it, both for your own information, and that you may set others right who shall happen to ask about it.

I am, with great respect, my Lord,
Your Excellency's most obedient and
Most humble servant,
J. ADDISON.

The paper said to be enclosed has not been found, but it was probably the following letter, which Rapin says was printed in French in the Amsterdam Gazette, as written by the English Secretary of State (Addison).

SIR, Whitehall, Dec. 14th, 1717.

His Majesty having been informed that several reports, for the most part ill-grounded, are spread abroad concerning what has lately passed in the Royal Family, he has ordered me to send you the enclosed account of it.

As soon as the young Prince was born, the King caused himself to be informed of what was wont to be observed in the like cases in this kingdom, in regard to the ceremony of Baptism; and having found by the records, that, when it was a boy, and the King was godfather, it was the custom for him to nominate, for second godfather, one of the principal lords of his court, who for the most part was the Lord Chamberlain; he named for this function the Duke of Newcastle, who now bears that charge; naming at the same time for godmother the Duchess of St. Albans, first lady of honour to the Princess. Nevertheless, his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales conceived such a dislike at this, that on Thursday last, after the solemnity of the Baptism was over, finding himself no longer master of his temper, he drew near to the Duke of Newcastle, and gave him very reproachful words, upon supposition that he had solicited that honour in spite of him. The King was still in the chamber, but not near enough to hear what the Prince said to the Duke. This last, thinking himself obliged to inform the King of it, and the Prince having confessed the matter to the Dukes of Kingston, Kent, and Roxburgh, (whom His Majesty sent to him the next day upon this occasion,) His Majesty ordered him, by a second message, not to go out of his own apartment till further order. On Saturday the Prince wrote a letter to the King, and the next day (Sunday) another: but, His

Majesty not finding them satisfactory, and having besides other reasons of discontent at several steps the Prince had taken, he caused him to be told yesterday in the afternoon, by his vice-chamberlain Mr. Cooke, that he should be gone from the palace of St. James's; and to the Princess, that she might continue in the palace as long as she thought convenient; but that as for the Princesses her daughters, and the young Prince, the King would have them remain with him in the palace, and that the Princess should be permitted to see them as often as she desired it. However, the Princess, being unwilling to leave the Prince her husband, went with him to the House of the Earl of Grantham, her Lord Chamberlain, where their Royal Highnesses lay last night.

STANYAN TO JOSIAH BURCHETT, ESQ.

SIR, Whitehall, December 21st, 1717.

My Lord Sunderland having received a letter of the 9th instant from the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, relating to twelve bales of slop clothes for the use of the seamen under the command of Vice-Admiral Cornwall, which have been carried into the custom-house at Lisbon, upon a pretence of their being liable to the King of Portugal's duties, his Lordship has been pleased to transmit the said letter to Mr. Secretary Addison, that proper instances may be made at Lisbon for discharging the said slop clothes of the said duties: and that the same may be done in the most effectual manner, Mr. Secretary desires the commissioners of the navy may give in a proper representation of the fact, and such particulars relating thereto as may best serve to set the matter in a clear light, together with the proper proofs for supporting the same; whereupon, Mr. Secretary will signify the King's pleasure to his minister at the court of Portugal, to apply for the discharge of the said goods.

Mr. Secretary being not well enough to write himself to the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, has commanded me to give you the trouble of this for their Lordships' perusal. I am, &c.

TEMPLE STANYAN.

STANYAN TO THE POSTMASTER-GENERAL.

MY LORD AND SIR, Whitehall, January 24th, 1717-18.

Mr. Secretary Addison having taken Mr. Richard Tickell as a clerk into his office, I am directed to acquaint you therewith, that

he may have the usual freedom in respect to his letters as the other clerks in the offices of his Majesty's Secretaries of State enjoy.

I am, my Lord and sir, your most obedient
and most humble servant,
TEMPLE STANYAN.

ADDISON TO THE ATTORNEY-GENERAL.

SIR, Whitehall, February 24th, 1717-18.

The Venetian Secretary having complained to me, that Joseph Galindo, one of his domestics, has been arrested by John Bennett, at the suit of Jacob Heizar, I desire you will make inquiry into this matter, and if you find his case to be within the meaning of the Act of Parliament for preserving the privileges of ambassadors and other public ministers from foreign princes and states, that you will take care that he may enjoy the benefit thereof.

I am, sir, your humble servant,
J. ADDISON.

TICKELL TO MR. CRACHERODE.

SIR, Whitehall, March 4th, 1717-18.

His Majesty having directed ten commissions to pass under the Great Seal for trying pirates in the Plantations, Mr. Secretary Addison orders me to give you notice, that the warrants lie signed in his office, that you may forthwith take care of passing the said commissions, as he is informed Wm. Nicholas Baker, formerly solicitor to the Treasury, did commissions of the like nature in the year 1700.

I am, sir,
Your most obedient, humble servant,
THOS. TICKELL.

English copy of Mr. Secretary Addison's letter to the king, desiring leave to resign the seals.

SIR, (March 14th, 1717-18.)

It is with great concern that I find my health in such a condition as will not permit me to attend the duties of my office with that assiduity and application which it requires. Though I shall hereby lose the honour and pleasure of serving the greatest and best of masters in that high station with which your Majesty has been pleased to honour me, I shall

embrace every opportunity to the last moment of my life to promote your Majesty's service, which is only promoting that of your people, as all who have had the honour to lay business before your Majesty ought in justice to acquaint the world. I think it therefore my duty, both to your Majesty and the public, to resign with the deepest sentiments of gratitude and humility the seals of the Secretary's Office, that they may be disposed of to one who, besides an inviolable zeal and attachment to your Majesty's interests, in which

nobody shall ever go before me,

I shall never be behind any one, has a suitable stock of health to go through the business of so great an employ.[1]

ADDISON TO DEAN SWIFT.

DEAR SIR, March 20th, 1717-18.

Multiplicity of business, and a long dangerous fit of sickness, *have* prevented me from answering the obliging letter you honoured me with some time since; but, God be thanked, I cannot make use of either of these excuses at present, being entirely free both of my office[2] and my asthma. I dare not, however, venture myself abroad yet, but have sent the contents of your last to a friend[3] of mine, (for he is very much so, though *he is* my successor,) who I hope will turn it to the advantage of the gentleman whom you mention. I know you have so much zeal and pleasure in doing kind offices *to* those you wish well to, that I hope you represent the hardship of the case in the strongest colours that it can possibly *bear*. However, as I always honoured you for your good nature, which is a very odd quality to celebrate in a man who has talents so much more shining in the eyes of the world, I should be

[1] In what language the original of this letter was written does not appear—probably French.

[2] Secretary of State, which post Mr. Addison resigned, 14th of March, 1717-18, and had a pension granted him of £1500 a year.

[3] James Craggs, Esq. Oldmixon says of him, "James Craggs, jun. Esq., was appointed one of His Majesty's principal Secretaries of State, in the room of Joseph Addison, Esq., who was pleased to say of his successor to me, "That he was as fit a man for it as any in the kingdom; and that he never knew any man who had a greater genius for business, whether in parliament or out of parliament, than young Mr. Craggs, as will appear by his conduct." *Hist. of England*, p. 659.

glad if I could any way concur with you in putting a stop to what you say is now in agitation.

I must *here* condole with you upon the loss of that excellent man, the bishop of Derry,[1] who has *scarcely* left behind him his equal in humanity, agreeable conversation, and all kinds of learning. We have often talked of you with great pleasure; and upon this occasion I cannot but reflect upon myself, who, at the same time that I omit no opportunity of expressing my esteem for you to others, have been so negligent in doing it to yourself. I have several times taken up my pen to write to you, but have always been interrupted by some impertinence or other; and, to tell you unreservedly, I have been unwilling to answer so agreeable a letter, as that I received from you, with one written in form only; but I must still have continued silent, had I deferred writing till I could have made a suitable return. Shall we never again talk *together* in laconic? Whenever you see England, your company will be the most acceptable in the world at Holland House,[2] where you are highly esteemed by Lady Warwick and the young Lord; though by none anywhere more than by,

Sir, your most faithful,
And most *humble* and obedient servant,
J. ADDISON.

ADDISON TO DEAN SWIFT.

DEAR SIR, Bristol, Oct. 1st, 1718.

I have received the honour of your letter at Bristol, where I have just finished a course of water-drinking, which I hope has pretty well recovered me from the leavings of my last winter's sickness. As for the subject of your letter, though you know an affair of that nature cannot well nor safely be trusted in writing, I desired a friend of mine to ac-

[1] Dr. St. George Ashe. "It is to be regretted that we have not the letter from Swift, which appears to have renewed, after a long interval, the correspondence between these distinguished men. It would seem, from the readiness with which Addison embraces the proffered amity of the Dean, that he had entertained no prejudice against him from his quarrel with Steele: so that it may be fairly argued he had more reason in that unfortunate affair, than has been conceded in his favour by some of his biographers." *Sir W. Scott.*

[2] The Dean had lodgings at Kensington in the summer of 1712; and Mr. Addison lived there at the same time, which was some years before his marriage with the Countess of Warwick.

quaint Sir Ralph Gore, that I was under a pre-engagement, and not at my own choice to act in it; and have since troubled my Lady Ashe with a letter to the same effect, which I hope has not miscarried. However, upon my return to London, I will further inquire into that matter, and see if there is any room left *for* me to negotiate as you propose.

I still live in hopes of seeing you in England; and if you would take my house *at* Bilton[1] in your way, (*it lies upon the road* within a mile of Rugby,) I would strive hard to meet you there, provided you would make me happy in your company for some days. The greatest pleasure I have met with for some months, is in the conversation of my old friend, Dr. Smalridge,[2] who, since the death of the excellent man you mention,[3] is to me the most candid and agreeable of all bishops; I would say, clergymen, were not deans comprehended under that title. We have often talked of you; and when I assure you he has an exquisite taste of writing, I need not tell you how he talks on such a subject. I look upon it as my good fortune, that I can express my esteem of you, even to those who are not of the bishop's party, without giving offence. When a man has so much compass in his character, he affords his friends topics enough to enlarge upon, that all sides admire. I am sure a zealous *sincere and* friendly behaviour[4] distinguishes you as much as *your* many more shining talents; and as I have received particular instances of it, you must have a very bad opinion of me, if you do not think I heartily love and respect you; and that I am ever, dear sir,

Your most obedient and
Most humble servant,
J. ADDISON.

[1] A small village in Warwickshire, where Mr. Addison's only daughter long resided, and died in 1797, at a very advanced age.

[2] Bishop of Bristol.

[3] Dr. St. George Ashe, Bp. of Derry.

[4] Addison, it must be remembered, was a witness appealed to by both parties, in the dispute between Swift and Steele, nor was he likely to have paid this very pointed compliment to our author on the steadiness of his friendships, had there been real ground for charging him with gross injustice towards a person with whom Addison himself was still more intimately connected both by private intercourse and party habits. *Sir Walter Scott.*

Since the preceding pages were printed off, the following papers have been discovered. They relate to the subject mentioned at pages 506, 507, THE QUARREL BETWEEN THE KING AND THE PRINCE OF WALES (afterwards GEORGE II.).

*** *The French letter which follows on the next page is the enclosure referred to at page* 506, *and is, as we suspected, the original of that given in English at page* 507. *It would appear that Sunderland and Temple Stanyan, as well as Addison, were busy in forwarding 'Crown' statements of the affair to foreign envoys, as we see by the two next letters.*

Accounts of it will be found in Rapin, (i. e. *Tindal,*) vol. v. 550, *Jesse's Court of England,* vol. iii. p. 5—14, *Walpole's Reminiscences and Mem. of* GEO. II., *Lamberty, Mem. du* 18me *Siècle; Pictorial England,* iv. 343, *and elsewhere. Strange to say, it is not even alluded to in Smollett's continuation of Hume.*

THE EARL OF SUNDERLAND TO MR. DAYROLLES.

SIR, Whitehall, 3rd December, 1717.

Having now four mails due from Holland, I should have nothing to write to you, but that I think it convenient you should know the true state of the unfortunate affair that has lately happened in the Royal Family, of which you will find a summary account in my *Office Circular*. This is a matter that one would wish it were possible to conceal; but, as the world will have the story, and probably not a little misrepresented, it is fit you should be informed of the truth, both for your own private use, and to set others right, as there may be occasion. I am, Sir,

Your most humble servant,
SUNDERLAND.

TEMPLE STANYAN (FOR ADDISON) TO MR. WORSLEY.

SIR, Whitehall, 10th December, 1717.

Mr. Secretary Addison, being indisposed, has directed me to acquaint you, that he has received your favour of the 14th past, with the enclosed papers relating to Mr. La Roche, since which he has likewise received yours of the 30th past, concerning the British merchants being ordered by the viceroy to quit their residence in the Bahia in Brazil. Upon which subjects Mr. Consul Poyntz has also writ to him. My Lord Sunderland has laid your letters before the King; and Mr. Secretary hopes to receive his Majesty's commands upon them, as soon as his health will permit.

As people will be very busy in talking of an unfortunate affair that has lately happened in the Royal Family, and which, in all likelihood, may be very much misrepresented, I

herewith transmit to you, by Mr. Secretary's order, the enclosed paper, containing a distinct relation of that matter, which has likewise been communicated to all the Foreign Ministers. Mr. Secretary heartily wishes it were possible to conceal this disagreeable story; but, as it must be public, he thinks it fit you should know the truth of it, both for your own information, and that you may set others right, who shall happen to ask about it.

Application having been made to Mr. Secretary in behalf of Mr. Samuel Freemantle, an English merchant in Lisbon, for the recovery of several debts due to him from some Portuguese noblemen and others, Mr. Secretary takes leave, at the request of a friend of his, to recommend the said Freemantle's case to your favour and assistance; and though his Majesty has not been applied to on his account, Mr. Secretary orders me to tell you, that he questions not but you will do the said Mr. Freemantle such good offices as may be consistent with the justice of his demands and the laws of the country, and he desires you will speak to Mr. Consul Poyntz to do the like. I am, sir,

Your most obedient and
most humble servant,

Mr. Worsley. TEMPLE STANYAN.

ADDISON'S FRENCH CIRCULAR ON THE ROYAL QUARREL.

(*Of which the translation is given at* p. 507.)

Londres, le 14 Decembre, 1717.

Sa Majesté aiant été informée qu'on fait courir plusieurs bruits, la plus part mal fondez, de ce qui s'est passé dernierement dans la Famille Royale, m'a ordonné de vous en envoier la Relation ci-incluse.

Aussitôt que le jeune Prince fut né, le Roi se fit informer de ce qu' on avoit accoutumé d' observer en pareil cas dans ce Royaume, par rapport à la ceremonie de Batême; et ayant vû par les Registres, que lorsque c' étoit un garçon, et que le Roi en étoit le Parrain, il avoit accoutumé de nommer pour second Parrain un des principaux Seigneurs de la Cour, et le plus souvent le Lord Chambellan, il nomma pour cette fonction le Duc de Newcastle, qui est revêtu de cette charge; nommant en même tems pour Marraine la Duchesse de St. Alban's, première dame d' honneur de Madame la Princesse.

Cependant, Son Altesse Royale le Prince de Galles en conçut un tel chagrin, que jeudi dernier, après la solemnité du Batême finie, ne se trouvant plus maître de son ressentiment, il s' approcha du Duc de Newcastle, et lui dit des injures très fortes, dans la supposition qu' il avoit brigué cet honneur contre son gré. Le Roi se trouvoit encore alors dans la chambre, mais il n'étoit pas à portée d' entendre ce que le Prince disoit au Duc. Ce dernier s'étant crû obligé d'en informer le Roi, et le Prince ayant avoué la chose aux Ducs de Kingston et de Kent et de Roxbourgh, (que S. M. lui envoya le lendemain à cette occasion,) S. M. lui fit ordonner par un second message de ne pas sortir de son appartement jusqu' à nouvel ordre. Samedi le Prince ecrivoit une Lettre au Roi, et le lendemain (Dimanche) une autre; mais S. M. ne les ayant pas trouvées satisfactoires, et ayant d'ailleurs des sujets de mecontentement de diverses autres demarches du Prince, lui fit dire, hier aprés midi, par son Vice-Chambellan, Mr. Cooke, qu' il eut de sortir du Palais de St. James, et à Madame la Princesse, qu'elle pouvoit rester dans la Palais, autant qu'elle le jugeroit à propos, mais que pour les Princesses ses filles et le jeune Prince, le Roi vouloit qu'ils restassent auprés de lui dans le Palais, et qu' il seroit permis à Madame la Princesse de les voir aussi souvent qu'elle souhaiteroit. Cependant la Princesse, ne voulant pas quitter le Prince son époux, se retira avec lui chez le Comte de Grantham, son Grand Chambellan, dans la maison du quel LL. A.A. RR. ont couché la nuit passé.[1]

[1] This Letter (or rather Circular) appeared in the Amsterdam Gazette. The Critic, a Weekly Paper of that period, published a translation in London with the following somewhat time-serving strictures.

"This Letter is too full to need a comment; neither is it proper upon such a subject to make any. Only it may be observed that his Majesty has, through the whole affair, behaved himself with the highest heroism and self-denial, in asserting the cause of the British Peerage, (which was insulted in one of its noblest Members,) against his own son. It had indeed been beneath the Duke of Newcastle not to have resented it; but it is even above what could be expected from a King, to redress it so effectually. This must sure endear him to the nation for ever; and his Royal Highness, as he one day expects to fill the Throne himself, cannot look upon it as an injury to have his Majesty thus justified from wicked imputations, though it unfortunately happens to be at his expense. If any sycophant-incendiaries should insinuate the contrary to him, 'tis hoped he may at last *find* them. And certainly no disgrace can be too heavy for such, who have taken it into their heads to aggrandize themselves by the disunion of a Royal Family." * * * *

"The detention of the Royal infants is the principal topic. Because

OFFICIAL REPORT TO THE KING OF THE PRINCE'S CONDUCT.

December 3rd, 1717.

YOUR Majesty having commanded us to give you in writing an exact account of what passed between His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales and us, when by your Majesty's order we had the honour to attend him on Friday last, the 29th of November, we humbly beg leave to acquaint your Majesty—That, as near as we can remember, the Lord Privy Seal, having your Majesty's signed order in his hand, told His Royal Highness, that we were sent by your Majesty to ask him, if it was true he had said to the Duke of Newcastle—

"You rascal, I will fight you."

To which His Royal Highness answered, "I did not say, 'I will *fight* you;' but I said, 'You rascal, I will *find* you:' and I *will* find him; for he has often failed in his respect to me, particularly on this late occasion, by insisting on standing godfather to my son, when he knew that it was against my will; and I should not have suffered it, if it had not been in duty to the king."

He likewise added, that it was the right of every subject in England to choose who should be godfather to their children, and that he would never allow any subject in England to use him ill.

The Lord Steward then desired His Royal Highness would consider what answer we should carry to the king. But His Royal Highness having repented [of] what he said before,—

The Duke of Roxburgh took the liberty to say that, if His Royal Highness would allow him, he would acquaint him, that the Duke of Newcastle had told him, that he had begged the king not to have any consideration of him on that occasion; for he had no other concern in it, than simply to obey His Majesty's commands.

nis Highness, it seems, has expressed himself with a paternal concern for them, 'tis to be wire-drawn into a demand; that so, beneath the umbrage of such a message, they, the enemies of the Constitution, may vent their collected gall with a show of authority. But these gentlemen are to understand that his Royal Highness is more an *Englishman* than they are willing to allow, and has not only too much insight into the rights of princes in general, but of our own in particular, to give way to any such of their instigation. He knows how the best action of the whole life of KING CHARLES II. was the prerogative he claimed of marrying his brother's daughters, in spite of him. His answer to the Duke of York, upon that head, may stand as an unalterable maxim of government in this free nation. '*What!*' said the Duke, (swelling with a presumption of the wrong which was offered him,) '*shall not I have the disposal of my own children? Are they not my daughters?*' '*No;*' replied the king, '*they are the kingdom's; and as such I am bound to take care of them.*' To this one wise step of that prince we owe our retrieval from the fatal consequence of all the other mismanagements of his reign. This originally secured to us our present constitution, and even the blessings of his Majesty's reign, and the prospect of that of his Royal race after him."

To which His Royal Highness answered, "I won't believe you upon it;" but the Lord Privy Seal did not exactly hear what His Royal Highness answered to the Duke of Roxburgh.

ROXBURGH. KENT. KINGSTON, C. P. S.[1]

Upon receipt of this report the King ordered the Prince not to leave his own apartments till further order, that is, to consider himself under arrest, which occasioned his first and second letters. These not being deemed satisfactory, the Prince received imperative orders to quit the palace immediately, with option to the Princess to remain, which she declined. The third letter announces his departure. He first took up his residence at Lord Grantham's, (the Princess's Chamberlain,) in Albemarle Street, and soon after at Leicester House, which he purchased and made his London residence till the time of his ascending the throne, June 11, 1727.[2]

THE PRINCE OF WALES' FIRST LETTER TO THE KING.

La première Lettre du Prince de Galles au Roi.

SIRE, Le 11me Decembre, 1717.

J'ai reçu avec la soumission que je dois les ordres que V. Majesté a envoyé de demeurer dans mon appartement, jusqu'à que V. Majesté m'a fait sçavoir ses volontés ulterieures.

Cette marque forte de l'indignation de V. Majesté m'a infiniment surpris, n'ayant jamais eu d'autres sentimens à l'egard de V. Majesté que ceux qui conviennent à un fils très obéissant.

On m'avoit fait croire, que V. Majesté avoit paru assez facile sur le choix que j'avois fait du Duc de York pour être Parain de mon fils, et qu'il pourroit être representé par le Duc de Newcastle, sans qu'il le fût lui même; et en étant persuadé, je ne pouvois m'empêcher de regarder comme un traitement inouï, qu'il vouloit être Parain de mon enfant, en depit de moy; mais lorsque V. Majesté jugea à propos de l'ordonner, je me suis soumis.

Le procédé du Duc de Newcastle m'a touché sensiblement, et j'en fus si indigné, que le voyant dans l'occasion, je ne pus m'empêcher de lui en donner des marques. Mais comme le respect que j'ay toujours eu pour Vôtre Majesté, m'avoit empêcher de lui en temoigner aucun ressentiment, quand il étoit chargé de vos ordres, j'espère qu' Elle aura la bonté de ne pas regarder ceque j'ay dit, au Duc en particulier, comme un manque de respect envers V. Majesté.

[1] Duke of Roxburgh; Duke of Kent; and Duke of Kingston, *Custos Privati Sigilli* (Keeper of the Privy Seal).

[2] It is a curious circumstance that twenty years later, (July 9, 1737,) when the breach took place between George II. and his son, Frederic Prince of Wales, the Prince took up his residence in this very house, as his father had done before him. It is also worthy of remark that Addison's Cato was performed here by the junior branches of the Prince's household, the Prince's son, afterwards George III., playing the part of Portius. See *Cunningham's Handbook of London.*

Cependant, si j' ay eu le malheur d' offenser V. Majesté, contre mes intentions, je lui en demande pardon, et je la supplie d'être persuadé du respect avec lequel je suis, &c.

Sire, De Vôtre Majesté
Le très humble et très obeissant Fils et serviteur,
GEORGE P.

THE PRINCE OF WALES' SECOND LETTER TO THE KING.

Seconde Lettre du Prince au Roi.

SIRE, Le 12me Decre. 1717.

J'espère que V. Majesté aura la bonté de m'excuser, si dans l'état où jé me trouvois, quand je pris la liberté d'ecrire à V. Majesté, j'ay omis de lui dire, que je ne temoignerois aucun ressentiment contre le Duc de Newcastle, sur ce qui s'est passé; et je prends cette occasion d'en assurer V. Majesté, étant avec un très profond respect, &c. Sire, De Vôtre Majesté
Le très humble et très obeissant Fils et serviteur,
GEORGE P.

THE PRINCE OF WALES' THIRD LETTER TO THE KING.

Troisième Lettre du Prince au Roi.

SIRE, Le 13me Decre. 1717.

Je viens d'obeïr aux ordres de V. Majesté, en quittant St. James. La Princesse m'accompagne, et nos domestiques sortent du Palais avec nous avec toute l'expedition possible. Je suis, &c.

Sire, De Vôtre Majesté
Le très humble et très obeissant Fils et serviteur,
GEORGE P.

Of these three curious letters of the Prince of Wales to his father translations appear to have escaped to the public in some journal of the day, "by what means I know not," says Sir Gustavus Hume, in an interesting letter on the subject, dated Dec. 24, 1717, and printed in the Marchmont papers, vol. ii. page 84. *Official copies of these translations being preserved among the Egerton Papers in the British Museum, we annex them.*

OFFICE TRANSLATION OF THE PRINCE'S FIRST LETTER.

SIRE, December 11th, 1717.

I received with all submission your Majesty's commands, confining me to my own apartment till your Majesty should signify your further pleasure to me. So great a mark of your Majesty's displeasure surprised me extremely, never having entertained a thought of your Majesty unbecoming a most dutiful son. I was made to believe your Majesty appeared easy in the choice I had made of the Duke of York to be godfather to my son; and that the

Duke of Newcastle might represent him, and not be godfather himself.

Being persuaded of this, I could not but look upon it as an unaccountable hardship that he would be godfather to my child in spite of me. But when your Majesty thought it proper to command it, I submitted. This treatment of the Duke of Newcastle touched me sensibly, and so far raised my indignation, that, at the sight of him on this occasion, I could not help showing it.

But, as the respect I have always had for your Majesty always hindered from expressing any resentment against him, whilst he was charged with your Majesty's orders, I hope your Majesty will have the goodness not to look upon what I said to the Duke in particular as a want of respect to your Majesty.

However, if I have been so unhappy as to offend your Majesty, contrary to my intention, I ask your pardon, and beg your Majesty will be persuaded that I am with the greatest respect,

Sire, your Majesty's most humble
and most dutiful son and servant,
GEORGE P.

TRANSLATION OF THE PRINCE'S SECOND LETTER.

SIRE, December 12th, 1717.

I hope that your Majesty will have the goodness to excuse me if, in the situation in which I found myself when I took the liberty to write to your Majesty, I omitted to say that I would not show any resentment against the Duke of Newcastle, and I take this opportunity of assuring your Majesty thereof,

Being with the most profound respect, &c.
GEORGE P.

TRANSLATION OF THE PRINCE'S THIRD LETTER.

SIRE, December 13th, 1717.

I am about to obey the orders of your Majesty by leaving St. James's. The Princess accompanies me, and our servants quit the palace with us, with all possible expedition. I am, &c.
GEORGE P.

Soon after the Prince had quitted the Palace, propositions were made to him in the name of the King, advised and drawn up by his confidential Minister, (the Prince's enemy,) Baron Bernsdorff, the sinister object of which was to widen the breach. They were communicated by the Speaker of the House of Commons, to whom the Prince gave his replies verbally.

THE KING'S PROPOSITIONS.	THE PRINCE'S REPLIES.
Le Roi est persuadé que si les intentions de Monseigneur le	*Response que le Prince a fait faire de bouche à ces Articles par*

Prince de Galles, à l'égard de ses soumissions à faire à Sa Majesté, sont telles, comme on doit les attendre d'un bon Fils, le Prince ne pourra pas manquer de convenir des Articles suivants.

I. De ne prendre personne à son service qu'avec l'agrément du Roi, et de n'avoir pas dans sa famille des personnes desagréables à Sa Majesté.

II. De n'avoir aucune correspondance avec ceux que le Roi lui fera declarer lui être disagréables.

III. De traiter avec bienséance les ministres et serviteurs du Roi.

IV. De faire des honnêtetez requises aux Ducs de Newcastel et Roxbourg.

V. Le Roi aiant incontestablement le droit d'établir auprès de ses petits fils et petites filles, comme enfans de la Couronne de

l'Orateur de la Chambre des Communes au Baron de Bernsdorff.

I. Que quant au premier Article il ne pretendoit pas de prendre personne à son service, sans auparavant en avoir informé le Roi; et que si sa Majesté avoit quelque bonne objection contre tels ou telles personnes, il en nommeroit quelques autres. Mais que Son Altesse Roiale ne vouloit en aucune maniere admettre les simples objections exprimées dans ce premier article, nommement que tel et tel est desagréable au Roi.

II. Quant à ce 2 Article le Prince dit qu'il n'avoit jamais entretenu aucune correspondance avec personne, qui ne fut bien affectionné au Roi et à sa famille, et ne voudra jamais en entretenir avec d'autres. Mais que le mot desagréable étoit si général qu'il ne savoit pas comment il devoit l'entendre.

III. Qu'il avoit repondu au 3 Article qu'il avoit toûjours traité avec bienséance les ministres et serviteurs du Roi, excepté ceux qui avoient offensé Son Altesse Roiale dans des points si delicats, comme tout le monde sait.

IV. Que quant au 4 Article le Prince dit qu'il s'étoit déja aquitté de son devoir par raport au Duc de Newcastel, et que pour ce qui regarde le Duc de Roxbourg il n'avoit jamais eu intention de l'offenser.

V. Que le 5 Article avoit paru plus dur au Prince, que le precedent message du Roi, puisque dans celuilà, la somme avoit été

la Grande Bretagne, tels gouverneurs et gouvernantes et autres domestiques qu'il jugera necessaires, comme aussi de regler et d'ordonner ainsi que bon lui semblera tout ce qui regarde lesdits enfans, Monseigneur le Prince se conformera là-dessus aux volontez du Roi son Pere.

fixée, et le Prince savoit alors à quoi s'en tenir; au lieu que sous pretexte d'avoir accepté ce 5 Article on pourroit lui demander 50 à 60 mille livres par an, et même tout ce qu'il a pourroit lui être ôté.

Janvier . . . . 1718.

OFFICE TRANSLATIONS OF THE ABOVE.

THE KING'S PROPOSITIONS.

THE King is persuaded that if the intentions of his Royal Highness, as to the submissions to be made to his Majesty, are such as ought to be expected from a good son, the Prince will not fail to agree to the following articles:

I. Not to take any person into his service, but with the King's approbation, nor to entertain in his family such persons as are disagreeable to his Majesty.

II. Not to hold any correspondence with such as the King shall cause to be declared to him to be disagreeable to his Majesty.

III. To use in a decent man-

THE PRINCE'S REPLIES.

The Prince's verbal replies communicated by the Speaker of the House of Commons to the Baron de Bernsdorff (and by him to the King).

I. That with regard to the first Article, he does not presume to take any person into his service without first having informed the King, and if his Majesty had any good objection against such person or persons he would name others. But that his Royal Highness would not, in respect to this first Article, in any manner be willing to admit simple (unexplained) objections, namely, that such or such person is disagreeable to the King.

II. With regard to this second Article the Prince says, that he has never maintained any correspondence with any one who was not affectionately disposed towards the King and his family, and never would maintain any with others. But that the word *disagreeable* was so general that he did know in what manner to understand it.

III. That he replied to the

ner the King's ministers and servants.

third Article, that he had always treated in a decent manner the ministers and servants of the King, excepting those who had offended his Royal Highness in such delicate points as are familiar to all the world.

IV. To pay the civilities that are requisite to the Dukes of Newcastle and Roxburgh.

IV. That with regard to the fourth Article the Prince says, that he had already acquitted himself of his duty in the matter of the Duke of Newcastle, and that with respect to the Duke of Roxburgh he never had any intention of offending him.

V. It being the King's undoubted right to appoint for his grandchildren (as being children of the Crown of Great Britain) such governors and governesses, and other servants, as He shall judge necessary; as also to settle and order, as He shall think fit, all that concerns the said children,—the Prince his son will therein comply with the pleasure of the King his father.

V. That the fifth Article had appeared severer to the Prince than the preceding message from the King, since in that the sum had been fixed, and the Prince then knew what to depend upon; whereas, under pretext of his having accepted this fifth Article, fifty or sixty thousand pounds a year might be demanded of him, and even all he has be taken away.

CRAGGS TO MR. WORSLEY.

SIR, Whitehall, 18th March, 1717-18.

Mr. Addison having humbly represented to the King, that the bad state of his health will not permit him to attend the business of his office, as Secretary of State, his Majesty has been pleased to honour me with the seals, and has assigned to my care the affairs of the southern province; I take the first opportunity of acquainting you therewith, that you may please to transmit to me, from time to time, such advices as you shall judge to be for his Majesty's service; and according as I shall receive his Majesty's directions upon them, I will not fail to communicate the same to you. As this will give me the pleasure of corresponding with you, I shall be extremely glad, if it may, at the same time, furnish me with occasions of being useful in anything relating to your own particular.

I am, very sincerely, sir,
Your most humble servant,

Mr. Worsley. J. CRAGGS.

ADDISON TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE JAMES CRAGGS, ESQ., HIS MAJESTY'S PRINCIPAL SECRETARY OF STATE.[1]

DEAR SIR, June 4th, 1719.

I cannot wish that any of my writings should last longer than the memory of our friendship, and therefore I thus publicly bequeath them to you, in return for the many valuable instances of your affection.

That they may come to you with as little disadvantage as possible, I have left the care of them to one whom, by the experience of some years, I know well qualified to answer my intentions. He has already the honour and happiness of being under your protection, and, as he will very much stand in need of it, I cannot wish him better than that he may continue to deserve the favour and *countenance* of such a patron.

I have no time to lay out in forming such compliments as would but ill suit that familiarity between us which was once my greatest pleasure and will be my greatest honour hereafter. Instead of them, accept *of* my hearty wishes, that the great reputation you have acquired so early may increase more and more, and that you may long serve your country with those excellent talents, and unblemished integrity, which have so powerfully recommended you to the most gracious and amiable monarch that ever filled a throne. May the frankness and generosity of your spirit continue to soften and subdue your enemies, and gain you many friends, if possible as sincere as yourself. When you have found such, they cannot wish you more true happiness than I, who am, with the greatest zeal,

Dear sir, your most affectionate friend,
And faithful, obedient servant,

———— J. ADDISON.

DEATH OF ADDISON.

Extract from the Chronological Diary of the Historical Register for the year 1719.

JUNE the 17th, died Joseph Addison, Esq.; he was son of Dr. Lancelot Addison, Dean of Lichfield; and being educated

[1] This letter was originally prefixed to his Dialogue on Medals, first published after his death in 1719. It will be found in our vol. i. at the commencement, but as it essentially belongs here, as being probably the last which Addison wrote, we repeat it.

at the Charter-House School, was sent from thence to the University of Oxford, where he finished his studies in Magdalen College. He became first known to the world by the excellency of his Latin Poems, which he published in the Musæ Anglicanæ, and dedicated to Charles Montague, Earl of Halifax, who together with the Lord Somers, then Lord Keeper, (to whom he inscribed the first piece he published in English, viz. a Poem to His Majesty King William III., on the taking of Namur, in the year 1695,) recommended him to that Prince, who gave him a pension of £300 per annum, and sent him to travel. At his return from his travels, he was made Commissioner of Appeals in the Excise; afterwards he was Under-Secretary to two Secretaries of State, and Secretary of State himself in Ireland under two Lord-Lieutenants. Upon the death of Queen Anne he was made Secretary to the Regency, after that one of the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations, and then advanced to be one of the Principal Secretaries of State to King George; which office, by reason of his ill state of health, he was obliged to resign some time before his death. In 1718, March 18, a pension of £1500 per annum was settled on him. He married Charlotte, daughter of Sir Thomas Middleton, of Chirk Castle in the county of Denbigh, Bart., and relict of Edward Rich, Earl of Warwick, by whom he left issue only one daughter. The asthmatic disorder, to which he had been long subject, now terminated in a dropsy; and it became evident to himself, and to all around him, that the hour of his dissolution could not be far distant. The death-bed of Addison was the triumph of religion and virtue. Reposing on the merits of his Redeemer, and conscious of a life well spent in the service of his fellow-creatures, he waited with tranquillity and resignation the moment of departure. The dying accents of the virtuous man have frequently, when other means have failed, produced the happiest effect; and Addison, anxious that a scene so awful might make its due impression, demanded the attendance of his son-in-law, Lord Warwick. This young nobleman was amiable, but dissipated; and Addison, for whom he still retained a high respect, had often, though in vain, endeavoured to correct his principles, and to curb the impetuosity of his passions. He now required his attendance to behold the reward of him who had obeyed his God. "He came," says Dr. Young,

who first related this affecting circumstance, "but life now glimmering in the socket, the dying friend was silent: after a decent and proper pause, the youth said, 'Dear Sir, you sent for me; I believe, I hope that you have some commands; I shall hold them most sacred.' May distant ages not only hear, but feel the reply! Forcibly grasping the youth's hand, he softly said, 'See in what peace a Christian can die.' He spoke with difficulty, and soon expired."[1]

A TRUE COPY OF THE LAST WILL AND TESTAMENT OF JOSEPH ADDISON ESQR.

In the name of God Amen. I Joseph Addison now of the parish of Kensington in the county of Middlesex Esq. being of sound and disposing mind and memory yet considering the uncertainty of this mortal life do think it necessary to make and ordain this my last will and testament which is as followeth.

Imprimis I give and bequeath unto my dear and loving wife the Countess of Warwick and Holland her heirs executors and assigns all and singular my real and personal estate whatsoever and wheresoever of which I am now seized or possessed or entitled unto upon this condition that my said dear wife shall out of my *said* estates pay within half a year after my decease the sum of five hundred pounds to my sister Mrs. Combes and the yearly sum of fifty pounds to my mother now living at Coventry during her life by half yearly payments (viz.) at Michaelmas and Lady day the first of the said payments to be made at the first of the said Feasts that shall happen next after my decease and I do make and ordain my said dear wife executrix of this my last will and I do also appoint her to be guardian of my dear child Charlotte Addison, until she shall attain her age of one and twenty, being well assured that she will take due care of her education and maintenance and provide for her in case she live to be married.

Item I do hereby revoke all former wills by me made In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and seal this fourteenth day of May in the fifth year of our Sovereign Lord King George and in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and nineteen. J. Addison.

[1] See Young on Original Composition, Works, v. 179, edit. 1767.

Signed sealed and published and declared by the said Joseph Addison to be his last will in the presence of us who have in his presence and by his order subscribed our names as witnesses thereunto:

Thomas Marriot.
Thomas Judd.
William Nicholson.

Probatum fuit hujusmodi Testamentum apud London Vicesimo Die Mensis Junij Millesimo Septengentesimo Decimo nono Coram Venerabili Viro Exton Sayer Legum Doctore Surrogato Venerabilis et Egregij viri Johannis Bettesworth Regum etiam Doctoris Curiæ Prærogative Cantuariensis Magistri Custodis Sive Commissarij legitime constituti Juramento Prænobilis et Honorandæ Feminæ Charlottæ Comitissæ De Warwick et Hollandiæ Relictæ Dicti Defuncti et Executricis in Dicto Testamento nominat. Cui comissa fuit Administratio omnium et singulorum bonorum jurium et creditorum dicti defuncti De bene et fideliter Administrando eadem ad Sancta Dei Evangelia Jurat.

Chas. Dyneley,
John Iggulden,
W. F. Gostling,
} Deputy Registers.

*** The Editor has advisedly omitted as valueless a number of short official letters, mostly transmitting addresses of the House of Commons to 'the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury,' 'the Secretary at War,' 'the Lords Commissioners of Trade,' or, 'the Master-general of the Ordnance,' directing certain accounts to be laid before the House. They have no other interest than the frequency of them, which proves, in contradiction to a received opinion, that Addison was anything but an idler during his eleven months' Secretaryship. They are all dated from Whitehall in 1717-18. Besides these we have many letters written during this period, in the name of Addison, by his Secretaries TEMPLE STANYAN and THOS. TICKELL, which, excepting that they generally allege the illness of Addison, are drily official.

The dates of those signed by Addison are as follow:

1717.

April 30. To the Lords Commissioners of Trade, For their Lordships to consider and report to his Majesty as to the policy of permitting the king of Spain to appoint a consul at Gibraltar.

May 4. To Ed. Hughes, Esq., Judge Advocate, Postponing the execution of Thos. Grinshield and Jos. Earle, deserters from Brigadier Gore's regiment.

— 9. To the Lords Commissioners of Trade, Mr. Chetwynd being appointed Plenipotentiary to Madrid, enquiring whether they have anything to add to his instructions.

— 10. To the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury, For an account of the expenses of 6000 Dutch troops during the late rebellion.

— 17. To Thomas Coleby, Esq., on the same subject.

— 23. To the Secretary at War, For list of officers of the late regiments commanded by Brigadier Douglas and Sir James Wood.

— 23. To the Lords of the Treasury, For the vouchers of £2106 for bringing Dutch troops to Ostend; For do. of £992 3*s.* 6*d.* for Tents, Jacks, &c.; For all contracts relating to transport of Dutch troops; For all Bills of Exchange drawn from abroad in 1715 and 1716 on account of the late Rebellion.

June 5. To the same, Enclosing the Earl of Stair's recommendation of Lieut. Alex. Macdonald and Thos. Butler, for services to his Majesty; there not being an opportunity to provide for them regularly in the War Office.

— 6. To the same, For account of what is due to sufferers at the Islands of St. Neve's and St. Christopher's.

— 14. To the Duke of Marlborough, Announcing the appointment of Col. Armstrong and Col. Lascelles as Commissioners for the demolition of the works at Dunkirk, and requesting his Grace's directions to them.

— 20. To the Lord's Commissioners of Trade, Enclosing Tariff of the new rates or valuations of the English Goods in Spain, with directions to consider how far the proposed rates may be for the advantage of our trade, &c.

August 6. To Lord Montgomery, Informing him that he had

received directions for the delivery of his papers, (which had been seized,) and that "in case the person seized at Dover belongs to your Lordship's family, he will be delivered up at the same time."

Oct. 18. To the Lords Commissioners of Trade, Enclosing Memorial of Sir Nicholas Lawes, Governor of Jamaica, praying a dormant commission for a Lieutenant-Governor.

— 25. To the same, "The Lord's Proprietors of the Bahama Islands in America being about to surrender to the Crown their right and power of government." You are hereby directed to accept and transmit the said surrender, &c.

Nov. 28. To the Lords of the Treasury, For accounts of the deficiencies of the grants for 1717; and of the net produce of the funds for payment of the National Debt, &c.

— 28. To the Secretary at War, For account of garrisons and land-forces, lists of officers on half-pay.

— 28. To H. G. the Duke of Marlborough, for army estimates.

— 29. To the Lords of the Treasury, For Ordnance accounts.

— 29. To the same, For an account of £20,000 granted for contingencies of the land-forces, of £28,245 9*s.* 2*d.* for fire and candle for the garrisons of Great Britain, and of £23,927 3*s.* 6½*d.* for General and Staff Officers.

— 29. To the Secretary at War, For an account of the number of each particular regiment contained in the estimates for guards and garrisons; of the land-forces disbanded, and what the saving doth amount to.

1717-18.

Jan. 6. To the Lords Commissioners of Trade, Enclosing a letter from Mr. Worsley, H. M. Envoy in Portugal, in vindication of Mr. La Roche, who had refused to accept the office of Treasurer of the English Factory at Lisbon.

1718.

Jan. 20. To the same, For an account of Bullion exported.

— 29. To the same, Letter enclosing petition of Amarantha Somers.

Further Analyses of Official Letters signed by Addison.

1714.

St. James's, August 9. To Mr. Secretary Bromley, Requesting him in the name of the Lords Justices to cause a Warrant to be prepared for making the Earl of Darby Lord-Lieutenant of Lancashire.

St. James's, August 10. To the same, In name of the Lords Justices, desiring that Lord Stafford may present a Memorial to the States-General.

St. James's, August 11. To Mr. Secretary Bromley, Conveying their Excellencies' commands that he shall lay before them the Draughts of all letters written to his Majesty's Ministers in foreign courts before such letters are sent away.

St. James's, August 12. To Mr. Secretary Bromley, Informing him in respect to a Petition of Peter Hambleton, that he, not having made such discoveries as he promised, the Lords Justices will have no further regard to it, and desiring him to be informed that he need not flatter himself with any vain hope of a further reprieve.

St. James's, August 18. To Lord Bolingbroke, Enclosing by command of the Lords Justices, a statement of the difficulties which remain upon the Assiento contract laid before them by the South Sea Company.

St. James's, Sept. 10. No Address, (probably to Mr. Secretary Bromley,) Enclosing a Petition from John Thomeur, a merchant at Portsmouth, complaining of a riot there to obstruct him in a loyal and beneficial trade to this kingdom. The Lords Justices desire you will write to the Mayor to suppress this riot and punish the offenders.

Query, about July 19, 1715. To the Lord Treasurer, Requesting in the name of the Lords Justices, an advance of £200 to Capt. Robert Monroe, M. P., he being on his departure thither, (name of place torn off,) upon business that requires the utmost despatch.

1717. Whitehall, June 1. To the Lord-Lieut. of Ireland (Duke of Bolton), Transmitting Memorial of Lord Stockalan, desiring a post in the army suitable to his seniority, or the Government of Athlone.

Whitehall, June 15. To Lord Cornwallis and James Craggs, Esq., Postmasters-General, Enclosing, by their Majesty's commands, the Petition of several merchants of London trading to Oporto, Viana, and Galicia, praying for the establishment of two Packet-boats between Great Britain and the Groyne. The Petition states that there is exported from Great Britain in woollen and fish to the value of £100,000 per annum; and that letters being obliged to be sent by way of Lisbon take ten weeks before they can get an answer.

Whitehall, August 15. To Solomon Dayrolles, Esq., Stating that the King, having been informed of his desire to be recalled from Geneva, letters of revocation would be transmitted by the first opportunity; and the necessary directions be given to Lord Sunderland for fixing him at the Hague.

Hampton Court, Sept. 10. To the Earl of Sunderland, by desire of the King, Empowering him to countersign a Commission appointing Capt. Adam Williamson to be Captain of Carisbrook Castle, Isle of Wight.

CONTINUATION OF

APPENDIX,

COMPRISING

MISCELLANIES AND GLEANINGS.

The following Poems, although not included among Addison's Works by either Tickell or Hurd, are admitted by Anderson, (Brit. Poets, vol. vii.,) *Chalmers, (Brit. Poets,* vol. ix.,) *and other equally respectable authorities; they are therefore appended here.*

THE PLAY-HOUSE.[1]

WHERE gentle Thames through stately channels glides,
And England's proud metropolis divides,
A lofty fabric does the sight invade,
And stretches o'er the waves a pompous shade;
Whence sudden shouts the neighbourhood surprise,
And thundering claps and dreadful hissings rise.
Here thrifty R——[2] hires monarchs by the day,
And keeps his mercenary kings in pay;
With deep-mouthed actors fills the vacant scenes,
And rakes the stews for goddesses and queens.
Here the lewd punk, with crowns and sceptres graced,
Teaches her eyes a more majestic cast;
And hungry monarchs, with a numerous train
And suppliant slaves, like Sancho, starve and reign.
But enter in, my Muse; the stage survey,
And all its pomp and pageantry display;

[1] Chalmers gives as his authority *Sedley's Miscellanies*, 8vo, p. 202. It is also found in *Park's Supplement to the British Poets*, vol. i. p. 1.

[2] Probably Rich.

Trap-doors, and pit-falls, form the unfaithful ground,
And magic walls encompass it around:
On either side maimed temples fill our eyes,
And intermixed with brothel-houses rise;
Disjointed palaces in order stand,
And groves, obedient to the mover's hand,
O'ershade the stage, and flourish at command.
A stamp makes broken towns and trees entire
So, when Amphion struck the vocal lyre,
He saw the spacious circuit all around
With crowding woods and rising cities crowned.
But next the tiring room survey, and see
False titles, and promiscuous quality,
Confusedly swarm, from heroes and from queens
To those that swing in clouds and fill machines.
Their various characters they choose with art:
The frowning bully fits the tyrant's part;
Swoln cheeks and swaggering belly make an host;
Pale, meagre looks and hollow voice, a ghost;
From careful brows and heavy, downcast eyes,
Dull cits and thick-skulled aldermen arise;
The comic tone, inspired by Congreve, draws
At every word loud laughter and applause;
The whining dame continues as before,
Her character unchanged, and acts a whore.
  Above the rest, the prince with haughty stalks
Magnificent in purple buskins walks;
The royal robes his awful shoulders grace,
Profuse of spangles and of copper-lace;
Officious rascals to his mighty thigh,
Guiltless of blood, the unpointed weapon tie;
Then the gay, glittering diadem put on,
Ponderous with brass, and starred with Bristol stone.
His royal consort next consults her glass,
And out of twenty boxes culls a face;
The whitening first her ghastly look besmears,
All pale and wan the unfinished form appears,
Till on her cheeks the blushing purple glows,
And a false virgin-modesty bestows;
Her ruddy lips the deep vermilion dies;
Length to her brows the pencil's care supplies,
And with black bending arches shades her eyes:

Well pleased at length, the picture she beholds,
And spots it o'er with artificial molds;
Her countenance complete, the beaux she warms
With looks not hers, and, spite of nature, charms.
Thus artfully their persons they disguise,
Till the last flourish bids the curtain rise.
The prince then enters on the stage in state;
Behind, a guard of candle-snuffers wait:
There, swoln with empire, terrible and fierce,
He shakes the dome, and tears his lungs with verse:
His subjects tremble; the submissive pit,
Wrapt up in silence and attention, sit:
Till, freed at length, he lays aside the weight
Of public business and affairs of state;
Forgets his pomp, dead to ambition's fires,
And to some peaceful brandy-shop retires;
Where, in full gills, his anxious thoughts he drowns,
And quaffs away the care that waits on crowns.
The princess next her painted charms displays,
Where every look the pencil's art betrays;
The callow 'squire at distance feeds his eyes,
And silently for paint and washes dies.
But if the youth behind the scenes retreat,
He sees the blended colours melt with heat,
And all the trickling beauty run in sweat.
The borrowed visage he admires no more,
And nauseates every charm he loved before:
So the famed spear, for double force renowned,
Applied the remedy that gave the wound.
In tedious lists 'twere endless to engage,
And draw at length the rabble of the stage;
Where one for twenty years has given alarms,
And called contending monarchs to their arms;
Another fills a more important post,
And rises, every other night, a ghost;
Through the cleft stage his mealy face he rears,
Then stalks along, groans thrice, and disappears;
Others, with swords and shields, the soldier's pride,
More than a thousand times have changed their side,
And in a thousand fatal battles died.
Thus several persons several parts perform;
Soft lovers whine, and blustering heroes storm:

The stern, exasperated tyrants rage,
Till the kind bowl of poison clears the stage.
Then honours vanish, and distinctions cease,
Then, with reluctance, haughty queens undress;
Heroes no more their fading laurels boast,
And mighty kings in private men are lost.
He whom such titles swelled, such power made proud,
To whom whole realms and vanquished nations bowed,
Throws off the gaudy plume, the purple train,
And in his own vile tatters stinks again.

EPILOGUE BY MR. ADDISON.[1]

Spoken by Mr. Wilks, on the King's Birth-day, (May 28, 1715,) at the house of Sir Richard Steele, who gave a splendid entertainment on that occasion.

THE sage whose guests you are to-night is known
To watch the public weal, *though not his own:*
Still have his thoughts uncommon schemes pursued,
And teemed with projects for his country's good.
Early in youth his enemies have shown
How narrowly he missed the chemic stone:[2]
Not Friar Bacon promised England more;
Our artist, lavish of his fancied ore,
Could he have brought his great design to pass,
Had walled us round with gold instead of brass.
That project sunk, you saw him entertain
A notion more chimerical and vain:
To give chaste morals[3] to ungoverned youth,
To gamesters honesty, to statesmen truth;
To make them virtuous all;—a thought more bold,
Than that of changing dross and lead to gold.
Of late with more heroic warmth inspired,
For still his country's good our champion fired;
In treaties versed, in politics grown wise,
He looked on Dunkirk[4] with suspicious eyes;

[1] Dr. Drake attributed this Epilogue to Steele himself, and has been followed by subsequent writers, but it was certainly written by Addison. Quart. Rev. cxcii. p. 566.

[2] It is well known that Steele once entertained hopes of being successful in the pursuit of the philosopher's stone; his laboratory was at Poplar, and is now converted into a garden-house.

[3] Tatler, Spectator, Guardian.

[4] The Importance of Dunkirk considered. In his "Letter to the Bailiff of Stockbridge, 1713."

Into its dark foundations boldly dug,
And overthrew in fight the Lord Sieur Tugghe.[1]
But now to nobler thoughts his view extends,
Which I may tell, since none are here but friends.
In a few months, he is not without hope
(But 'tis a secret) to convert the Pope:[2]
Of this, however, we 'll inform you better,
Soon as his Holiness receives his letter.[3]
Meanwhile he celebrates (for 'tis his way)
With something singular this happy day,
His honest zeal ambitious to approve
For the great monarch he was born to love;
Resolved in arms and art to do him right,
And serve his sovereign like a trusty knight.

PROLOGUE

TO SMITH'S PHÆDRA AND HIPPOLITUS.

SPOKEN BY MR. WILKS.

Long has a list of heroes filled the stage,
That rant by note, and through the gamut rage;
In songs and airs express their martial fire,
Combat in trills, and in a fugue expire:
While, lulled by sound, and undisturbed by wit,
Calm and serene you indolently sit.
And, from the dull fatigue of thinking free,
Hear the facetious fiddle's repartee:
Our homespun authors must forsake the field,
And Shakspeare to the soft Scarletti yield.

[1] The Sieur Tugghe, the deputy of the magistrates of Dunkirk, had delivered a memorial to the Queen; to which Mr. Steele's pamphlet was intended as an answer. The whole was ridiculed by Dr. Swift in "The Importance of the Guardian considered."

[2] His humorous dedication to the Pope, prefixed to "The Ecclesiastical History of late Years, 1715," which has by many been ascribed to Bp. Hoadly. Swift alludes to this when he says,

"Thus Steele, who owned what others writ,
And flourished by imputed wit."

It is also ascribed to the Bishop by his son, Mr. Chancellor Hoadly.

[3] The dedication to "An Account of the State of the Roman Catholic Religion throughout the World." Vide Town Talk, No. 4, p. 55, Nichol's edition.

To your new taste the poet of this day
Was by a friend advised to form his play.
Had Valentini, musically coy,
Shunned Phædra's arms and scorned the proffered joy,
It had not moved your wonder to have seen
An eunuch fly from an enamoured queen:
How would it please should she in English speak,
And could Hippolitus reply in Greek!
But he, a stranger to your modish way,
By your old rules must stand or fall to-day,
And hopes you will your foreign taste command,
To bear, for once, with what you understand.

AN ODE FOR ST. CECILIA'S DAY.

WRITTEN BY MR. ADDISON.

SET TO MUSIC BY MR. DANIEL PURCELL. PERFORMED AT OXFORD, 1699.

I.

PREPARE the hallowed strain, my muse,
Thy softest sounds, and sweetest numbers choose;
The bright Cecilia's praise rehearse,
In warbling words, and gliding verse,
That smoothly run into a song,
And gently die away, and melt upon the tongue.

II.

First let the sprightly violin
The joyful melody begin,
And none of all her strings be mute;
While the sharp sound and shriller lay,
In sweet harmonious notes decay,
Softened and mellowed by the flute.
[1]The flute that sweetly can complain,
Dissolve the frozen nymph's disdain;
Panting sympathy impart,
Till she partake her lover's smart.

CHORUS.

III.

Next let the solemn organ join
Religious airs and strains divine,
Such as may lift us to the skies,
And set all heaven before our eyes:

[1] The four last lines of the second and third stanzas were added by Mr. Tate.

Such as may lift us to the skies,
So far at least till they
Descend with kind surprise,
And meet our pious harmony half-way.

IV.

Let then the trumpet's piercing sound
Our ravished ears with pleasure wound,
The soul o'er-powering with delight;
As with a quick uncommon ray
A streak of lightning clears the day,
And flashes on the sight.
Let echo, too, perform her part,
Prolonging every note with art;
And in a low, expiring strain
Play all the comfort o'er again.

V.

Such were the tuneful notes that hung
On bright Cecilia's charming tongue:
Notes that sacred heats inspired,
And with religious ardour fired:
The love-sick youth, that long suppressed
His smothered passion in his breast,
No sooner heard the warbling dame
But, by the secret influence turned,
He felt a new diviner flame,
And with devotion burned.
With ravished soul, and looks amazed,
Upon her beauteous face he gazed;
Nor made his amorous complaint:
In vain her eyes his heart had charmed,
Her heavenly voice her eyes disarmed,
And changed the lover to a saint.

GRAND CHORUS.

VI.

And now the choir complete rejoices,
With trembling strings and melting voices,
The tuneful ferment rises high,
And works with mingled melody:
Quick divisions ran their rounds,
A thousand trills and quivering sounds,
In airy circles o'er us fly,
Till, wafted by a gentle breeze,
They faint and languish by degrees,
And at a distance die.

THE VESTAL.

FROM OVID DE FASTIS, LIB. III. EL. I.

Blanda quies victis furtim subrepit ocellis, &c.

As the fair Vestal to the fountain came,
(Let none be startled at a Vestal's name,)
Tired with the walk, she laid her down to rest,
And to the winds exposed her glowing breast,
To take the freshness of the morning air,
And gathered in a knot her flowing hair;
While thus she rested, on her arm reclined,
The hoary willows waving with the wind,
And feathered choirs that warbled in the shade,
And purling stream that through the meadow strayed,
In drowsy murmurs lulled the gentle maid.
The god of war beheld the virgin lie,
The god beheld her with a lover's eye;
And by so tempting an occasion pressed,
The beauteous maid, whom he beheld, possessed:
Conceiving as she slept, her fruitful womb
Swelled with the founder of immortal Rome.

COWLEY'S EPITAPH ON HIMSELF.

TRANSLATED BY MR. ADDISON.

From life's superfluous cares enlarged,
His debt of human toil discharged,
Here Cowley lies! beneath this shed,
To every worldly interest dead;
With decent poverty content,
His hours of ease not idly spent;
To fortune's goods a foe profest,
And hating wealth by all carest.
'Tis true he 's dead; for oh! how small
A spot of earth is now his all;
Oh! wish that earth may lightly lay,
And every care be far away;
Bring flowers; the short-lived roses bring,
To life deceased fit offering:
And sweets around the poet strow,
While yet with life his ashes glow.

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE LORD HALIFAX.

[This is evidently the original draught of Addison's celebrated LETTER FROM ITALY,[1] and is entirely in his own hand-writing. It is preserved in the Bodleian Library, and from certain marks appears to have been in the printer's hands, and printed in folio. For the communication of this interesting document the Editor is indebted to the kindness of the Rev. Dr. Bandinel.]

While Britain's thoughts on rising wars are bent,
And anxious monarchs dread the dark event,
Her prudent bards provide themselves betimes
With stores of flights, and magazines of rhymes;
Prepared already in exalted verse
The yet unpurchased trophies to rehearse.
Namur or Dunkirk one attacks in form,
Describes the batteries and prepares the storm.
Remorseless in his ire, the French he galls
At once with similes and cannon balls,
Till to the tenth dull page the siege extends,
Where the town parleys and the poem ends.
Others on naval fights consume their rage,
And in the shock of mingling fleets engage,
Describing death in all its ghastliest forms,
Of floods, and fires, and hurricanes, and storms:
Pleased with the noisy rhymes, and vainly proud,
They blame the lingering war, and thirsty for blood;
Nor yet foresee, by the frail muse beguiled,
The paper which with so much pains they've spoiled
The hidden lumber of a shop shall lie,
Or filled with bombast and tobacco die.
From the loud scene of business far retired,
With milder themes and fainter raptures fired,
To you, my Lord, my grateful muse conveys
Soft gentle sounds, and unambitious lays,
That, big with landscapes, paint the happy place
Where all the best of the melodious race,
By more than mortal inspirations warmed,
From age to age the listening world have charmed.[2]

[1] Printed in our vol. i. p. 29.

[2] All the preceding 30 lines are additional and unpublished.

On every side[1] I turn my ravisht eyes
Gay gilded scenes and shining prospects rise,
Poetic fields encompass me around,
And still I seem to tread on classic ground;
For here the muse so oft her harp has strung,
That not a mountain rears his head unsung,
Renowned in verse each shady thicket grows,
And every stream in heavenly numbers flows.
How am I pleased to search the hills and woods
For rising springs and celebrated floods!
To view the Nar, *impetuous*[2] in his course,
And trace the smooth Clitumnus to his source;
To see the Mincio draw his watery store
Through the long windings of a fruitful shore,
And hoary Albula's infected tide
O'er the warm bed of smoking sulphur glide.[3]
Sometimes, misguided by the tuneful throng,
I look for streams immortalized in song,
That lost in silence and oblivion lie,
(Dumb are their fountains and their *currents*[4] dry,)
Yet run for ever by the muse's skill,
And in the smooth description murmur still.
Sometimes to gentle Tiber I retire,
And the famed river's empty shores admire,
That, destitute of strength, derives its course
From thrifty urns, and an unfruitful source,
Yet, sung so often in poetic lays,
With scorn the Danube and the Nile surveys.
So high the deathless muse exalts her theme!
Such was the Boyne, a poor inglorious stream,
That *through*[5] Hibernian vales obscurely strayed,
And unobserved in wild meanders played,
Till by your lines and Nassau's sword renowned,
Its rising billows through the world resound,

[1] *For wheresoe'er* [2] *tumultuous*

[3] Six lines added here:

Fired with a thousand raptures I survey
Eridanus through flowery meadows stray,
The king of floods! that, rolling o'er the plains,
The towering Alps of half their moisture drains,
And proudly swoln with a whole winter's snows,
Distributes wealth and plenty where he flows

[4] *Channels* [5] *in*

Where'er the hero's godlike acts can pierce,
Or where the fame of an immortal verse.
Oh could the muse my ravisht *soul*[1] inspire
With warmth like yours, and raise an equal fire,
Unnumbered beauties in my verse should shine,
And Virgil's Italy should yield to mine.
See how the golden groves around me smile,
That shun the coast of Britain's stormy isle,
Or, when transplanted, and preserved with care,
Curse the cold clime, and starve in northern air.
Here, kindly warmth *the*[2] mounting juice ferments
To nobler tastes and more exalted scents:
Ev'n the rough rocks with tender myrtle bloom,
And trodden weeds send out a rich perfume.
Bear, me some god, to Baja's gentle seats,
Or cover me in Umbria's green retreats;
Where western gales eternally reside,
And all the seasons lavish all their pride:
Blossoms and fruits and flowers together rise,
And the whole year in gay confusion lies.
How does the mighty scene my soul amaze[3]
When on proud Rome's immortal seats I gaze,
Where piles of ruin, scattered all around,
Magnificently strow the pompous ground!
An amphitheatre's *transcendent*[4] height
Here fills my eye with terror and delight,
That on its public shows *exhausted*[5] Rome,
And held uncrowded nations in its womb:
Here, pillars, rough with *battles*,[6] pierce the skies;
And here the proud triumphal arches rise,
Where the old Romans' deathless acts displayed,
Their base, degenerate progeny upbraid:
Whole rivers here forsake the fields below,
And, wondering at their *course*,[7] through airy channels flow.

[1] *breast* [2] *their*
[3] These four lines differ entirely, as will be seen:

Immortal glories in my mind revive,
And in my soul a thousand passions strive,
When Rome's exalted beauties I descry
Magnificent in piles of ruin lie.

[4] *amazing* [5] *unpeopled* [6] *sculpture* [7] *height*

Still to new scenes my wandering Muse retires,
And the dumb *statue's*[1] breathing *form*[2] admires;
The ambitious sculptor all his[3] force has shown,
And softened into flesh the rugged stone.
In solemn silence a majestic band,
Heroes, and gods, and Roman consuls, stand;
Stern tyrants, whom their cruelties renown,
And emperors in Parian marble frown;
While the bright dames, to whom they humbly sued,
Still show the charms that their proud hearts subdued.
Fain would I Raphael's godlike art rehearse,
And *draw*[4] the immortal labours in my verse,
Where from the mingled *force*[5] of shade and light
A new creation rises to my sight:
Such heavenly figures from his pencil flow,
So warm with life *the*[6] blended colours glow!
From theme to theme with secret pleasure tossed
Amidst the soft variety I 'm lost.
Here, *gentle*[7] airs my ravisht soul confound
With circling notes and labyrinths of sound.
Here domes and temples rise in distant views,
And opening palaces invite my muse.
How is the happy land above the rest
Adorned with pleasures and with plenty blest![8]
But what avail her unexhausted stores,
Her blooming mountains, and her sunny shores,
With all the gifts that heaven and earth impart,
The smiles of nature, and the charms of art,
While proud oppression in her valleys reigns,
And tyranny *devours*[9] her *fruitful*[10] plains?
The poor inhabitant beholds in vain
The reddening orange and the swelling grain;
Joyless he sees the *ripening*[11] oils and wines,
And in the myrtle's fragrant shade repines;
Starves, in the midst of nature's bounty curst,
And in the loaden vineyard dies for thirst.

[1] *show of* [2] *rocks* [3] *Where the smooth chisel all its*
[4] *show* [5] *strength.* [6] *his* [7] *pleasing*
[8] *How has kind Heaven adorned the happy land,*
And scattered blessings with a wasteful hand!
[9] *usurps* [10] *happy* [11] *growing*

O Liberty, thou goddess heavenly bright,
Profuse of bliss, and *fruitful in*[1] delight!
Eternal pleasures in thy presence reign,
And smiling plenty leads thy wanton train;
Eased of her load, subjection grows more light,
And poverty looks cheerful in thy sight;
Thou mak'st the gloomy face of nature gay,
Giv'st beauty to the sun, and pleasure to the day.

Thee, goddess, thee, Britannia's isle adores;
How has she oft exhausted all her stores,
How oft in fields of death thy presence sought,
Nor thinks the mighty prize too dearly bought!
On foreign mountains may the sun refine
The grape's soft juice and mellow it to wine,
With citron groves adorn *the*[2] distant soil,
And the fat olive swell with floods of oil:
We envy not the warmer clime, that lies
In ten degrees of more indulgent skies,
Nor at the coarseness of our heaven repine,
Though *the cold Pleiads in our zenith*[3] shine:
'Tis liberty that crowns Britannia's isle, [smile.
And makes her barren rocks and her bleak mountains

Others with towering piles may please the sight,
And in their proud aspiring domes delight,
A nicer touch to the stretched canvass give,
Or *the well polished marble teach* to live,[4]
Britannia's thoughts on nobler ends are bent,
To guard the freedom of the continent,
To raise the weak, to watch o'er Europe's state,
And hold in balance each contending state,
To threaten bold presumptuous kings with wars;
These are her high concerns, and these her generous cares.[4]
The Dane and Swede, roused up by *dire*[5] alarms,
Bless the wise conduct of her pious arms:

[1] *pregnant with* [2] *a* [3] *o'er our heads the frozen Pleiads*
[4] These seven lines are represented by the following five in the other version.

Or teach their animated rocks to live:
'Tis Britain's care to watch o'er Europe's fate,
And hold in balance each contending state,
To threaten bold presumptuous kings with war,
And answer her afflicted neighbours' prayer.

[5] *fierce.*

Soon as her fleets appear, their terrors cease,
And all the northern world lies hushed in peace.
The ambitious Gaul beholds, with secret dread,
Her thunder aimed at his aspiring head,
And fain her godlike sons would disunite
By *inbred quarrels and*[1] domestic spite,
But strives in vain to conquer or divide
Whom Nassau's arms defend and councils guide.
Fired with the name which I so oft have found
The *different*[2] climes and different tongues resound,
I bridle in my struggling muse with pain,
That longs to launch into a bolder strain;
But *spent already with a rhyme so*[3] long,
I dare not tempt[4] a more adventurous song;
My humble verse *requires*[5] a softer theme,
A painted meadow, or a purling stream;
Unfit for heroes, whom *majestic*[6] lays,
And lines like Virgil's, or like yours, should praise.

From Italy, Feb. 19, 1702.

TICKELL'S TRANSLATION OF HOMER.[1]

BY SOME ATTRIBUTED TO ADDISON.

ACHILLES' fatal wrath, whence discord rose,
That brought the sons of Greece unnumbered woes,
O goddess sing. Full many a hero's ghost
Was driven untimely to the infernal coast,
While in promiscuous heaps their bodies lay,
A feast for dogs, and every bird of prey.
So did the sire of gods and men fulfil
His stedfast purpose, and almighty will;
What time the haughty chiefs their jars begun,
Atrides king of men, and Peleus' godlike son.
What god in strife the princes did engage?
Apollo, burning with vindictive rage
Against the scornful king, whose impious pride
His priest dishonoured and his power defied.
Hence swift contagion, by the god's commands,
Swept through the camp, and thinned the Grecian bands.
For wealth immense the holy Chryses bore,
His daughter's ransom, to the tented shore:

[1] *foreign gold, or by* [2] *distant.* [3] *I've already troubled you too*
[4] *Nor dare attempt* [5] *demands.* [6] *immortal*
[7] Tickell translated only the first book of the Iliad, which was published in the same year as Pope's.

His sceptre stretching forth, the golden rod,
Hung round with hallowed garlands of his god,
Of all the host, of every princely chief,
But first of Atreus' sons he begged relief.
"Great Atreus' sons, and warlike Greeks, attend,
So may the immortal gods your cause befriend;
So may you Priam's lofty bulwarks burn,
And rich in gathered spoils to Greece return;
As for these gifts my daughter you bestow,
And reverence due to great Apollo show,
Jove's favourite offspring, terrible in war,
Who sends his shafts, unerring, from afar."
Throughout the host consenting murmurs rise
The priest to reverence, and give back the prize;
When the great king incensed, his silence broke
In words reproachful, and thus sternly spoke.
"Hence, dotard, from my sight. Nor ever more
Approach, I warn thee, this forbidden shore,
Lest thou stretch forth, my fury to restrain,
The wreaths and sceptre of thy god, in vain.
The captive maid I never will resign;
Till age o'ertakes her, I have vowed her mine.
To distant Argos shall the fair be led:
She shall; to ply the loom, and grace my bed.
Be gone, ere evil intercept thy way.
Hence, on thy life: nor urge me by thy stay."
He ended frowning. Speechless, and dismayed,
The aged sire his stern command obeyed.
Silent he passed amid the deafening roar
Of tumbling billows, on the lonely shore:
Far from the camp he passed: then suppliant stood;
And thus the hoary priest invoked his god.
"Dread warrior with the silver bow, give ear.
Patron of Chrysa and of Cilla, hear.
To thee the guard of Tenedos belongs;
Propitious Smintheus! oh! redress my wrongs.
If e'er within thy fane, with wreaths adorned,
The fat of bulls and well-fed goats I burned,
Oh! hear my prayer. Let Greece thy fury know,
And with thy shafts avenge thy servant's woe."
Apollo heard his injured suppliant's cry,
Down rushed the vengeful warrior from the sky;
Across his breast the glittering bow he flung,
And at his back the well-stored quiver hung:
His arrows rattled, as he urged his flight,
In clouds he flew, concealed from mortal sight;
Then took his stand the well-aimed shaft to throw,—
Fierce sprung the string, and twanged the silver bow.

The dogs and mules his first keen arrow slew;
Amid the ranks the next more fatal flew,
A deathful dart. The funeral piles around
For ever blazed on the devoted ground.
Nine days entire he vexed th' embattled host.
The tenth, Achilles through the winding coast
Summoned a council, by the queen's command
Who wields heaven's sceptre in her snowy hand:
She mourned her favourite Greeks, who now enclose
The hero, swiftly speaking as he rose.
"What now, O Atreus' son, remains in view,
But o'er the deep our wanderings to renew,
Doomed to destruction, while our wasted powers
The sword and pestilence at once devours?
Why haste we not some prophet's skill to prove,
Or seek by dreams? for dreams descend from Jove.
What moves Apollo's rage let him explain,
What vow withheld, what hecatomb unslain;
And if the blood of lambs and goats can pay
The price for guilt and turn this curse away?"
Thus he. And next the reverend Calchas rose,
Their guide to Ilion whom the Grecians chose;
The prince of augurs, whose enlightened eye
Could things past, present, and to come, descry:
Such wisdom Phœbus gave. He thus began,
His speech addressing to the godlike man.
"Me then command'st thou, loved of Jove, to show
What moves the god that bends the dreadful bow?
First plight thy faith thy ready help to lend,
By words to aid me, or by arms defend.
For I foresee his rage, whose ample sway
The Argian powers and sceptred chiefs obey.
The wrath of kings what subject can oppose?
Deep in their breasts the smothered vengeance glows,
Still watchful to destroy. Swear, valiant youth,
Swear, wilt thou guard me, if I speak the truth?"
To this Achilles swift replies: "Be bold.
Disclose what Phœbus tells thee uncontrolled.
By him who, listening to thy powerful prayer,
Reveals the secret, I devoutly swear,
That, while these eyes behold the light, no hand
Shall dare to wrong thee on this crowded strand;
Not Atreus' son, though now himself he boast
The king of men and sovereign of the host."
Then boldly he: "Nor does the god complain
Of vows withheld, or hecatombs unslain.
Chryseis to her awful sire refused,
The gifts rejected, and the priest abused,

Call down these judgments, and for more they call,
Just ready on th' exhausted camp to fall;
Till ransom-free the damsel is bestowed,
And hecatombs are sent to soothe the god,
To Chrysa sent. Perhaps Apollo's rage
The gifts may expiate and the priest assuage."
He spoke and sate. When, with an angry frown,
The chief of kings upstarted from his throne.
Disdain and vengeance in his bosom rise,
Lour in his brows and sparkle in his eyes:
Full at the priest their fiery orbs he bent,
And all at once his fury found a vent.
"Augur of ills, for never good to me
Did that most inauspicious voice decree:
For ever ready to denounce my woes,
When Greece is punished I am still the cause.
And now, when Phœbus spreads his plagues abroad,
And wastes our camp, 'tis I provoke the god,
Because my blooming captive I detain,
And the large ransom is produced in vain.
Fond of the maid, my queen, in beauty's pride,
Ne'er charmed me more a virgin and a bride;
Not Clytemnestra boasts a nobler grace,
A sweeter temper, or a lovelier face,
In works of female skill hath more command,
Or guides the needle with a nicer hand.
Yet she shall go: the fair our peace shall buy:
Better I suffer than my people die.
But mark me well. See instantly prepared
A full equivalent, a new reward.
Nor is it meet, while each enjoys his share,
Your chief shall lose his portion of the war:
In vain your chief; whilst the dear prize I boast,
Is wrested from me, and for ever lost."
To whom the swift pursuer quick replied:
"Oh! sunk in avarice and swollen with pride!
How shall the Greeks, though large of soul they be,
Collect their severed spoils, a heap for thee
To search anew, and cull the choicest share
Amid the mighty harvest of the war?
Then yield thy captive to the god resigned,
Assured a tenfold recompence to find,
When Jove's decree shall throw proud Ilion down,
And give to plunder the devoted town."

[*This specimen must suffice. It will, we think, be sufficient to convince any one that Addison was not the translator.*]

INAUGURATIO REGIS GULIELMI,[1] 1689.

TITYRUS. Hic inter corylos, umbrosa cacumina, densas,
Nos cantare pares quoniam convenimus ambo,
Dicamus Laudes heroum (ut, Mopse, solemus).
Tempora transibunt sic læta canentibus, et nunc
Dic age, quos nostro celebrari carmine sumes.

MOPSUS. Tityre, nunc reddantur eis pia munera laudum,
Otia qui dederint nobis placidamque quietem;
Scilicet illorum resonent encomia sylvæ,
Qui dignabantur regni fulcire ruinas.

T. Tanta haud conveniunt humili tenuique cicutæ;
Sed quoniam in magnis, dicunt, voluisse sat esse;
Ipse tuas, Gulielme, canam laudesque Mariæ;
Nam, quos junxit amor, nemo sejungere debet.

M. Tunc mihi Phœbe fave, Musæque favete canenti,
Ne culpa ingenii illorum minuantur honores.

T. Ast ego nec Phœbum curo Phœbive sorores,
Carmina namque mihi cedit nunc lemma canenti.

M. Sint licet illustri proavorum stemmate clari,
Sunt magis ornati propriis virtutibus ambo.

T. Si rex est regit immanes qui pectoris æstus;
Tum quot regna tenet Gulielmus! quotque Maria!

M. Inclytus hic Mavors, sapiens hæc altera Pallas,
Vulnerat ille armis, forma sed vulnerat illa.

T. Quando vias Pelagi tentarunt, mole superbum
Sustulit ad nubes mare se, fastuque tumebat.

M. Quando tellurem tetigerunt, Arcades omnes
Fani Deo Arcadiæ tenerum mactavimus agnum.

T. Tunc iterum totus resonat modulamine campus,
Miscent pactores iterum nymphæque choreas.

M. Lætus gramineis lusit tunc agnus in agris,
Floribus atque novis hædi insiluere petulci.

T. Quantus erat victor Gulielmus, quando popelli
Vicit corda, hostes vicit, vicitque seipsum!

M. Participat sponsi virtutem et regna Maria,
Digna tribus regnis, et tanto digna marito.

T. Primus hic imperio, nulli est virtute secundus,
Sic sol, quam stellæ, majori luce refulget.

[1] These verses occasioned Mr. Addison's being elected into Magdalen College.

M. Sed qualis stellas micat inter luna minores,
Talis, cum cincta est sociis, regina videtur.
T. At quæ nos illis nunc, Tityre, digna precemur,
Ludere qui pecori, pecorisque dedere magistris?
M. Æternam inveniam, quam donavere, quietem!
T. Et sero cœlos exornet sidus utrumque!

Josephus Addison, Commensalis è Coll. Reg.

ON THE

RETURN OF KING WILLIAM FROM IRELAND,

AFTER THE BATTLE OF THE BOYNE.[1]

Cum Domini impatiens excussit Ierna catenas,
Tota reuns in Martem, intestinosque labores,
Integri quicunque graves vidêre tumultus
(Constitit heu! tanti virtus) in vincula missi,
Exosam luctuque trahunt et carcere vitam.
Latè agri dumis horrescunt, aspera rura
Luxuriant segete spinarum, autumnus Iernæ
Nullus adest, cultorque deest quærentibus arvis.
Passim turba dolis instat peregrina secundis,
Nativamque premit lasciva potentia plebem;
In lacrymas Gens omnis abit, manifestat ubique
Communes luctus, vultuque laborat in uno.
Præceps in tardas sic crevit Hibernia pœnas,
Et sic venturæ maturuit illa ruinæ:
Facta esset tanto nequaquam vindice digna,
Si minor horrendas Gulielmi senserat iras.
Anglia in ignavam dudum resoluta quietem,
Imperiis rediviva tuis, Nassove, veternum
Excutit, et longum sopitos suscitat ignes.
Te duce quas fecit strages! quæ prælia movit!
Dum fervet cædes, et campo sanguis inundat,
Assiduæ sudant peragendo pensa sorores,
Et stipata gemit sub pondere cymba Charontis.
Terga premens Cæsar fugientia corripit hostes

[1] From the "Academiæ Oxoniensis Gratulatio pro exoptato serenissimi Regis Gulielmi ex Hibernia reditu. Oxoniæ, e Theatro Sheldoniano, Ann. Dom. 1690."

Vindex, atque trahit partem sua quamque ruina:
Plumbea tempestas hanc obruit, eminus illa
Glande cadit, frustraque evitat missile ferrum.
Altera dum pœnas differt fugiendo sequaces,
Infidæ sese credit moritura paludi.
His gradibus longo se solvit Hibernia luctu,
Imperium expulsi tandem indignata tyranni
Nobiliora petit vincla, optatasque catenas
Induit, atque jugo Gulielmi ornata superbit.
Gens nimium dilecta Deo! nimiumque Britanni
Felices! hæc si exundantia gaudia nullus
Frænâsset dolor, et Ducis[1] haud ignobile fatum
Lætitiæ nimios non castigaverat æstus.
Ille triumphato toties securus ab hoste,
Exulibus Dîs ille, ille aris fidus avitis
Ah! tandem occubuit pietate insignis et armis.
Hei mihi! quale jaces venerandâ mole cadaver!
Qualis honor vultûs! et frontis læta senectus!
Heu pietas! heu prisca fides! et bellica virtus
Quando habitura parem!
Musa, tamen taceas intempestiva dolores,
Melpomene, taceas; non hoc sine numine Divûm
Evenisse puto: Senis aspera fata triumphi
Famam auxêre Tui, victor Gulielmi, nec ulla
Æmula divisos virtus partitur honores.
I, decus, i, nostrum! agnoscat fera Gallia dextram
Victricem, et quæ Te vidit prima arma gerentem,
Sentiat expletas maturo in corpore vires.
Sed caveas, dum Te in bellum rapit impetus ardens,
O caveas, nimio ne Marte impulsus in hostes
Irrueres, latamque darent tria regna ruinam.
Insano tandem parce indulgere labori,
Parce, Jacobe, ultra Lodöici innitier armis.
Discerptos frustra nunc luges frontis honores;
Sera sibi veniunt tandem suspiria, serò
Nunc quereris, quanquam, nisi mens tibi læva fuisset,
Et nisi credideras fallaci uxorius arti,
Jam lætus poteras placidis dare jura Britannis,
Et rexisse gregem, fato meliore, paternum;
Sed nunc Parcæ obstant, et non revocabilis ordo.

J. Addison, *è Coll. Magd.*

[1] Duke Scomberg.

TRANSLATIONS

OF

ADDISON'S LATIN POEMS.

[Mr. Geo. Sewell, in his Preface to these Translations, (Lond. 1724,) says, "In the poem on the *Peace of Ryswick* the author seems to have exerted all his powers to make it shine above his other compositions. It is, indeed, a master-piece; the images are chosen with a nice judgment, worked up with a delicacy of imagination, and placed in the strongest light. Everything strikes at the first view, and yet will bear the strictest eye to reëxamine it. The descriptions, being both just and surprising, put the mind upon the full stretch as they are preparing, and exceed the boldest expectations when finished. Upon this occasion I cannot help remarking that, the art of war being so much changed since the Roman times, it must be a difficult task to find words in that language to express even the common ideas of a modern battle; but to do it in all its terrible scenes of new inventions was reserved for the pen of Mr. Addison.

The *Battle of the Pygmies and Cranes*, the *Puppet-Show*, and the *Bowling Green*, are of the mock-heroic kind, the subjects mean and trivial, seemingly incapable of poetical ornaments, but are raised to the heroic by a splendid boldness of expression and pomp of verse; by metaphors, allusions, and similitudes drawn from things of a higher class, and such as are suited by nature to convey ideas of greatness and magnificence to the mind. Virgil, in his Georgics, is the great master in this way, with this difference only, that his is a serious grandeur, this a mimic one; his produces admiration, this laughter.

The *Barometer* is a fine philosophical poem, describing the effects of the air on that wonderful instrument with great exactness, as well as in the most beautiful poetry.

The *Odes to Dr. Burnett and Dr. Hannes* are written in the true spirit of Horace.

The *Resurrection* is a noble piece, drawn after the painter with a masterly hand. As it is spoken of in its place by the translator, I refer the reader to his observations, *page* 573.]

THE PEACE OF RYSWICK.[1]

TRANSLATED BY THE REV. THOMAS NEWCOMBE.

WHEN now the tumult of the battle dies,
No shouts the earth, no trumpets wake the skies;
Accept, great leader, what the pious throng,
(Less dreadful music, and a softer song,)

[1] *Pax Gulielmi auspiciis Europæ reddita*, 1697. Vol. i. p. 233.

To soothe the vengeance of thy soul inspire,
And ease thy bosom of its restless fire:
Let wars no more, all nature hushed to rest,
Nor scenes of ruin, roll within thy breast:
No schemes of death, delightful to thy eyes,
Swell in thy thoughts, and charm thee as they rise.
Already famed, the chace of fame give o'er:
Nor, dark with laurels, shade thy brows with more.
No more dire camps a glittering horror yield,
Nor swarming millions hide the crowded field;
No shouts or tumults shake the sounding plain,
Where downy peace, and solemn silence, reign.
With furrows now the peasant all around
Cuts the wide camp, and turns the warlike mound;
No rampires dreadful to the foe descries,
Rising aloft, and threatening as they rise.
O'er fields of death, the waste of war pursues,
Sighs the sad scene, and trembles as he views:
While richer blades along the bulwarks wave,
And greens arise to strew the warrior's grave.
Luxuriant ears the fertile glebe supplies,
The harvest bending, where the hero dies.
See! distant worlds, invited from afar
To trace the ruins of the finished war;
While gaping walls and shattered towers admire,
O'erturned in tempests of tumultuous fire.
Long tracks of death astonished they explore;
Now view the warrior's toil, and now deplore:
While streams of blood each current still distain,
And Ormond's wounds ennoble all the plain.
Where yon steep rampires rise with slaughter red,
Still moist with gore, and crimsoned with the dead,
The chief[1] his standard fixed, whose temples round
Defended Buda with her laurels bound.
Through thickest troops he breaks his glorious way,
And floods of fire in vain command his stay.
The bursting shells aloft, and sweeping ball,
Around the hero unregarded fall,
While through dark flames he rushes to the fight,
And vapours, streaked with lengths of ruddy light.
See threatening once, and dreadful to behold,
A ghastly breach the yawning towers unfold;
Amazing still the broken ruins show,
Enormous hang, and shade the plain below.
Now treacherous caves beneath the earth are found,
Where beds of sulphur swell the caverned ground

[1] The Lord Cutts, Baron of Gowran, &c.

Here mingling hosts in vain their courage try,
Guiltless of death, yet doomed, alas! to die.
For, lo! the opening mound asunder flies,
And hurls at once whole armies to the skies;
While limbs of mangled heroes, upward drove,
Shoot from the bursting earth, and reek above:
The burning troops, abandoned to despair,
In flames ascend, and smoke along the air.
So when the lifted arm of angry Jove
Drives the red bolt, all flaming from above,
Pursues the foe with thunder down the skies,
Nature's sad ruins all her sons surprise;
Amazed they view her rugged form, and moan.
Great Pelion lost, and Ossa's height o'erthrown.
Here streams o'er craggy rocks mistake their way,
New banks design, and through new channels stray.
The wild confusion all around admire,
Their former hills and vanished shades require.
Here, led by William's fortune and his fame,
United worlds to guard the monarch came;
Fair Belgia's sons the hardy Britons join,
And nations nursed beyond the sounding Rhine;
While faithful Austria from her shining towers
Sends out by millions her victorious powers;
With these the eager northern bands conspire,
And, wanting Phœbus' light, yet boast his fire;
While swarthy troops, to the great cause inclined,
Forsake the day, and leave the sun behind.
From climes remote, and distant skies around,
Close gathering bands the pious king surround;
By nature parted, worlds together join,
Unite the frozen pole and burning line;
Their language different, yet their swords agree,
All drawn alike for freedom and for thee.
And thou, great chief,[1] in war a dreaded name,
Foremost in dangers, as the first in fame;
If Isis to thy worth a life can give,
Thine shall elude the grave, and ever live!
While arts and arms to form thy youth combine,
And both Minervas in each action shine,
With fond reluctance she resigns her prize,
And gives thee up to fame with weeping eyes.
Our fainty sun's too languid to inspire
Thy soul with vengeance and thy breast with fire.
Thy sultry India, where the god of day
Shoots on the earth direct his burning ray,

[1] Colonel Codrington, Colonel of the King's Guards.

Ripens thy godlike vigour, and bestows
A heat intense as that with which he glows;
From his kind beams thy kindling ardour came,
Who lent the spark, then nursed it to a flame.
Now nations whom no summer suns beguile,
(Rough with the shaggy bear's enormous spoil,)
Attentive hear the story of thy fame,
Forget their clime, and glow at William's name.
Beneath their breast, as thy great battles roll,
Each feels new heat, and burns beneath his pole:
Thy godlike deeds each freezing arm inspire,
And, warmed by thee, they ask no other fire.
See, the great chief[1] whose empires stretched around
Nature alone can shut, and oceans bound,
Forsake his snowy realms, his chilling skies,
And marks the hero with astonished eyes.
His eyes the awful warrior round explore,
And in his looks he reads his battles o'er.
The vast idea carrying to his view
The forts he stormed, and millions that he slew.
Here great Namur, and there the bleeding Boyne,
With slaughter swelled, present their numerous slain;
While to Seneff his thoughts in raptures run,
Where both deserved the palm, which neither won.
How great his mien! what port his steps maintain!
Rising he moves, and awful treads the plain:
Stern majesty sits lowering on his face,
With comely terror mixed, and frowning grace.
So with Evander, when his royal guest,
(A lion's curling mane his shoulders dressed,)
His hand in leagues of holy friendship joins;
Thus fierce he looks, and thus majestic shines.
As William's deeds the hero entertain,
Quick beats his heart, and swells each bursting vein;
The blood more sprightly runs its circling rounds,
And flaming through the purple channels bounds;
The Britons' triumphs rising to his view,
He glows, he fights, and seems to triumph too.
In thought elate, he now the foe distains,
And drives the Tartar o'er the Russian plains.
But hear! what joyful shouts at distance rise,
Break through the air, and doubling fill the skies;
With William's name the hollow shores rebound,
And echoing vales repeat the darling sound:
No more fair Albion, on the beach reclined,
With tears augments the seas, with sighs the wind:

[1] The Czar of Muscovy.

Nor chides the envious gale, and angry main,
That from her eyes so long their bliss detain.
The lingering barque no more creates her woe,
Which flying o'er the waves—yet still is slow.
See the vast fleet the parting seas divide,
Whitening the surge, and cuts the foamy tide;
Arrived at last, she drops the dashing oar,
While peace and William land on Albion's shore.
No battles now within his bosom roll,
Awake his rage, and fire the warrior's soul;
His thoughts no longer painting to his eye
What foe shall bleed the next, what rival die.
Soft passions now, and every milder grace,
Smile in his looks, and smooth the hero's face:
No more dread vengeance reddens at his eyes,
While in the melting king the soldier dies.
  See! how their lord the British youth surrounds,
Prizing their safety scarce above their wounds.
With comely scars each warrior's bosom red,
Asserts how well he fought, how oft he bled.
To his loved home as now the soldier flies,
Joy swells his heart, and wets his bubbling eyes.
The trembling wife explores her lover's face,
Still coy, and doubtful of her lord's embrace;
Hangs on his neck, confused with mixed surprise,
And satisfies her love before her eyes.
The infant, starting as the sire draws near,
Deep in the mother's bosom hides his fear.
He to the astonished crowd recounting o'er
The deaths he gave, and hardy toils he bore:
His own exploits his own full praises crown,
And pompous words set off his past renown.
So when the ship, with Argive heroes fraught,
Back to her Greece the shining treasure brought;
With wonder all the burnished prize behold,
Rigid and stiff with curls of flaming gold.
Still pale with fear, the soldier numbers o'er
Dire dreadful forms that guard the wakeful shore.
Here, streams of fire from hissing serpents rise,
Light the dusk air, and flash along the skies;
There, glowing bulls, no labours e'er could tame,
Groan at the wain, and snort a living flame.
  For thy return what grateful trophies rise,
What honest joy o'erflows each Briton's eyes!
To meet thy fame, from all her joyful towers,
Thy isle her populace and nobles pours;
All to their great returning monarch kind,
oy smiles before, and transport shouts behind.

While mingling murmurs, and applauses round,
Delight thy ear, and please while they confound.
To aid the spreading pomp thy heavens supply
Uncommon lustre, and a fairer sky;
Keep back the progress of the rolling year,
While summer suns the flowery winter cheer.
Now the loved youth[1] in all his beauty's pride
And smiling bloom adorns the hero's side.
Each parent, striving with alternate care,
Divide their love to form him great and fair;
While in his looks the sire commanding lives,
The goddess smooths the charms the hero gives:
Each manly feature and severer grace,
By beauty softened, dies upon his face:
With different glories each the boy inspire,
One gives the sweetness, and one lends the fire.
In wars already thoughtful to engage,
He acts thy battles o'er with mimic rage;
Here, pressing eager on the flying foe,
His boiling veins with artful vengeance glow,
Till from his arm, as swiftly he retires,
Stopped by his sword, a fancied Gaul expires.
There, his young breast and courage to inflame,
He builds low towers, and gives to each their name.
Namur's feigned walls awhile his force disdain,
Which fall at last, and smoking hide the plain.
In sieges thus his arm the youth employs,
Till what his hand erects his sword destroys.
While eager now to reach thy virtuous fame,
His bosom hardly bounds the restless flame:
A rising red his youthful cheeks inspires,
And stains his lilies o'er with purple fires.
But, oh! what muse an equal strength supplies
To paint Augusta's triumphs as they rise?
Through whose glad streets the grape her juice bestows,
Each sordid channel purpling where it flows.
What verse can reach the lighted orbs on high,
And falling lustre of the artful sky?
While stars of sulphur through heaven's azure glow,
And fall and smoke from bursting shells below.
See the fair night her rival beams display,
Forget her shades, and emulate the day:
Forth from the clouds the heavens a torrent pours
Of falling light, and rains in burning showers.
While meteors, blazing through the winter sky,
Trail a long length of fire, and crackling die.

[1] His Royal Highness William, Duke of Gloucester.

As thus the spheres with shining wonders glow,
A thousand hideous forms surprise below:
Bright, horrid monsters, ghastly to the eye,
In various shapes the artful flames belie.
Here, a fierce lion we, with dread, admire,
Shake his red mane, and rough with curls of fire:
There, dressed in flames a slippery serpent slides,
Burns with feigned life, and hisses as he glides.
Each subject now, while William fills the throne,
Springs with new life, and calls that life his own:
To nature's bounds their fleets control the main,
No dangers dread, and every foe disdain.
Secure they wander; and while he is kind
The sea no terror has, no rage the wind:
Whether to freezing climes their course they hold;
O'er icy waves, and bound with summer's cold;
Or cross those oceans where perfuming gales,
And blasts of incense, swell the driving sails.
Ye sacred shades, who from above complain,
Your reeking wounds the fields of death distain;
Still to your isle your great assistance lend,
And whom the warriors saved their ghosts defend.
Let William still your kind protection prove,
His pride on earth, his guardians when above.
And while your friendship thus survives the grave,
Your love secures that bliss your courage gave.
And thou, Maria, whose indulgent breast
Labours with wishes for Britannia's rest,
If Europe's dawning peace awhile delay
Thy lord's embrace, forgive the hero's stay;
Till jarring worlds by his command agree,
In vain recalled by empire and by thee.

THE BAROMETER,[1]

OR WEATHER-GLASS.

TRANSLATED BY MR. GEO. SEWELL.

In those dark caverns of the teeming earth,
Where nature gives to various metals birth;
Where massy bars of ore unfashioned lay,
And her veins glitter with a ruddy ray;
There, as the wondering workman views the mine,
With secret riches fraught, and future coin,

[1] *Barometri Descriptio.* Vol. i. p. 237.

His hands a shining silver fountain force,
That runs, and rolls unmarking of its course.
No signs, no moistened tracts of earth betray,
Or its first flowing, or returning way;
Though broke, in gathered globes it still appears,
And re-collects itself in rounded spheres.
None know its nature; whether, greatly born,
The noble fluid slow perfection scorn;
And ripe, and finished in itself, despise
Subliming sun-light, and maturing skies.
Or rather, if the sun's imperfect beam,
Leave it a loose, unripened silver stream,
A fluid treasure: whatsoe'er it be,
It boasts of uses of a high degree;
A form less bright, by love inspired to wear,
Great Jove assumed to win the Grecian fair;[1]
When, in his arms the guarded nymph to fold,
He lost his godhead in a shower of gold.
But see the fact: a glassy tube prepare,
And from the vessel pump the grosser air:
The bottom let the silver lake supply,
Obsequious to the motions of the sky:
That so, when gathering showers in air depend,
The fluctuating metal may descend;
And when the warmer, sultry heats advise,
The quick-emerging liquor may arise,
Possess the void, from every distance pass,
And leave, and fill all spaces of the glass.
The tube thus fixed, the conscious liquor tries,
And tells before the temper of the skies:
In its bright face you certainly behold
The distant winter, and the future cold.
For when the mounting fluid upward tends,
And in the glassy channel high ascends;
Then comes the promise of serener days,
A brighter sun in purer æther plays,
And laughing fields confess the summer rays.
But if the silver stream, by too great weight,
Swells much, and rises to the topmost height;
Then fade the withered herbs, the juices fly,
The plants grow thirsty, and the meadows die.
But when the breathing earth thin mists exhales,
And murky smoke depends on heavy gales,
Or slowly sailing o'er the surface lowers,
The cause and nutriment of future showers;
Then from their height the ponderous liquids flow,
Sink down, and form a silver lake below.

[1] Danaë.

Observers draw not from the bittern's play,
Surer presages of a weeping day;
When the bird mounts beyond her common height,
And in the middle æther shapes her flight;
Sportful enjoys the misty clouds, and flings
The dropping moisture from her shaggy wings.
But now the cold produces new effects,
The scattered drops in shining orbs collects:
Then fields look green, in fruitful showers the rain
Soaks the dry roots, and swells the teeming grain.
But when the streaming metal's lucid weight
Falls deeply down, and loves a lower state;
As if impatient of the showery skies,
Retires, and, fearful of the tempest, flies;
That sight, ye cautious swains, observe with skill;
Portentous sign! and ominous of ill;
Soon will the pregnant air her vapours show,
Winter come armed, and sounding whirlwinds blow.
But though the fluid lesser pressed subsides,
And almost all its silver substance hides,
Yet other things beyond their limits swell;
Streams burst their banks, and mighty floods rebel,
In frothy tides each boiling deluge raves,
And seas o'erflow with mad licentious waves.
This wondrous glass a thousand truths displays,
And all the secrets of the skies betrays:
By this the face of heaven is justly shown,
The changes told, and all the seasons known:
This tells you when to trust a loose attire,
And warns you when to hope a winter fire.
On this prognostic travellers may rely:
Though the clouds gather, and obscure the sky,
And threaten tempests to the doubtful eye,
Yet if, inspecting of the sure machine,
The glass deny, and promise it serene,
Beneath the hanging showers they safe may go,
And fearless of the rain the swain may mow.
This faithful glass the wrath of heaven defies,
Makes winter pointless, and disarms the skies;
Frosts, colds, and tempests, when by this prepared,
Fall innocent, and meet us on our guard.

THE

BATTLE OF THE PYGMIES AND CRANES.[1]

TRANSLATED BY REV. THOS. NEWCOMBE.

THE feathered warriors and the Pygmy state
Record, O muse! their battles and their fate,
Sing their great wars, and, as their troops engage,
Guide the low heroes, and direct their rage.
Here, swords all flaming for the fight display;
There, beaks as vengeful and as keen as they:
Dreadfully mingling in one lofty strain,
The Pygmies' courage and the foes' disdain.
While birds and men in dire dread conflicts try
The earth's command, and empire of the sky.
Already fair in verse each warrior's name
The muse has greatly sung, and paid with fame.
His hardy toil with transport each admires,
The poet rising as the chief inspires:
To distant time the muse has handed down
The Grecian valour, and her youth's renown,
How sternly brave in fight great Theseus glows;
How swift Achilles drives upon his foes;
Æneas' fame with wonder we peruse,
And William's wreaths are green in every muse.

[1] *Prælium inter Pygmæos et Grues commissum.* Vol. i. p. 239.

"Purity of style, and an easy flow of numbers," says Mr. Macaulay, "are common to all Addison's Latin Poems. Our favourite piece is the Battle of the Cranes and Pygmies; for in that piece we discern a gleam of fancy and humour which many years later enlivened thousands of breakfast tables. Swift boasted that he was never known to steal a hint; and he certainly owed as little to his predecessors as any modern writer; yet we cannot help suspecting that he borrowed, perhaps unconsciously, one of the happiest touches in his voyage to Lilliput from Addison's verses. Let our readers judge.

"'The Emperor,' says Gulliver, 'is taller by about the breadth of my nail than any of his court, which alone is enough to strike an awe into the beholders.'

"About thirty years before Gulliver's Travels appeared, Addison wrote these lines:

Jamque acies inter medias sese arduus infert
Pygmeadum ductor, qui, majestate verendus,
Incessuque gravis, reliquos supereminet omnes
Mole gigantea, mediamque exsurget in ulnam.

And now the monarch of the Pygmy throng,
Advancing, stalks with ample strides along;
Slowly he moves, majestically tall,
Towers o'er his subjects, and o'erlooks them all."

While Theban chiefs, and Pompey's mournful name,
Weary each eye, and tire us with their fame.
My bolder muse, unsung in ancient lays,
New battles ranges, and new camps surveys;
In verse the trumpet's silver sound describes,
And, fatal to the Cranes, the Pygmy-tribes;
Dark through the air, while hovering nations flow,
And from the clouds descends the feathered foe.
Where happy India boasts a warmer ray,
And, smiling, blushes at the birth of day:
Embraced by rocks, a flowery vale is seen,
By few frequented, and for ever green,
Here, high in fame (till heaven that fame withstand)
The spreading Pygmy nations wide command;
By various arts a frugal life sustain,
While labouring millions throng each crowded plain.
But now their desert realms, as we descry,
Untilled their vales, their bowers unpeopled lie.
While bones of mighty dwarfs, and warriors slain,
Strike every eye, and whiten all the plain.
These realms are now by victor Cranes possessed;
There safe they triumph in each airy nest.
Not thus they moaned their country's fate of old,
When subject-states their monarch's arm controlled.
The soldier then, whene'er the foe drew near,
Grasped hard his sword, and, dreadful, shook his spear:
Till gasping now, and breathless on the ground,
Deep in his breast he drives the deadly wound:
His shoulders scarce the ponderous spoil convey;
Alive, his terror, and when dead, his prey.
Oft in the grove her curious mansions hung,
His rage o'erthrows and slays the crying young;
The mother-bird, from far, beholds with pain
Her kingdoms rifled, and her infants slain;
Whose little lives their parent's guilt atone,
For crimes, alas! expiring, not their own.
His breast no pity to their crimes will give,
Doomed by his sword to die before they live;
E'er yet a form th' imperfect young enjoys;
And in the egg the future foe destroys.
From this dire spring immortal discords rose,
Which wrought the sons of fame unnumber'd woes:
While warring troops disturb the earth and sky,
And birds and men, confused together, die.
Less tumults from less noble causes sprung,
The Grecian bard of old sublimely sung,
While thundering arms, and meeting hosts around,
Mix in one noise, and all the lake[1] confound.

[1] Homer's Batrachomuomachia.

Here, scattered o'er the bloody plains, are laid
Expiring mice, by bulrush-spears destroyed;
There, limping frogs, distained with generous gore,
In deep, hoarse plaints their absent limbs deplore:
Unactive now, forget their springing bound,
And hardly trail their sluggish weight along the ground.
Now the great morn her light began disclose;
That morn, which fatal to the Pygmies rose,
When they shall rue the rashness of their guilt,
And wish the young unslain, the egg unspilt.
For this the vengeful sires in war engage,
Burn with revenge, and call forth all their rage;
Sad with regret, they summon from afar
Wide distant nations to the airy war:
What troops remote Strymonian waters breed,
And o'er Caister's flowery meadows feed,—
What hardy bands the Scythian lakes supply,
Or poured from Ister's banks obscure the sky,
Confederate join—with slaughter all around
Their bosoms swell, and absent seem to wound.
Each whet their talons, and their beaks prepare,
To gore the battle, and confuse the war;
For speedy flight the sounding pinions drest;
Such thirst of vengeance heaves each warrior's breast.
Now spring arrived, the gathering troops on high
Cut the mid air, and sail along the sky;
Beneath their wings as they sublimely soar,
Wide empires stretch, and wider oceans roar.
Through the bleak north, as they their legions guide,
The day grows darker, and the clouds divide.
Fanned with the blast, and trembling as they fly,
A loud deep murmur runs along the sky.
Nor less on earth the Pygmy fury glows,
Whose chiefs for fight the martial troops dispose,
Direct the war,—and, as the foe draws near,
Each gripes his sword, and, eager, shakes his spear.
While closely wedged, and dreadful to the foe,
Their double battle hides the plain below.
And now the monarch of the Pygmy throng,
Advancing, stalks with ample strides along;
Slowly he moves, majestically tall,
Towers o'er his subjects, and o'erlooks them all;—
A giant Pygmy, whose high spirits swell,
Elated with the space of half an ell;
Stern was his visage,—for his face all o'er
Of savage claws the dire impressions bore;
And seamed with ghastly wounds, his manly breast
Still owned the foe, and still the nails confessed.

Hence wrath, immortal wrath, his bosom fired,
To quell those nations that his fall conspired;
Who, joined in arms his fury to restrain,
Whet keen their claws, and plunge their beaks in vain.
Oft as his sword its edge in battle shows,
To lop a pinion, and retard his foes,
What heaps of dead, what mountains of the slain,
What slaughter reddens all the slippery plain!
While sighing o'er Strymonian lakes alone,
Sad widows languish, and sad orphans moan.
Now broken murmurs, sounding from afar,
Presage the approaches of the flying war;
Black with the foe, the clouds they now descry
Cleaving the air, and marching through the sky.
Winged troops disclosing, as they wide unfold;
And what they heard aloft they now behold.
In solemn state above, and strict array,
A dreadful scene the hovering troops display;
Their spreading war extends along the skies,
And the fanned air before their pinions flies.
All heaven is crowded, and the darkening foe,
Hung in the clouds, obscures the camp below;
With gloomy horror shades the nether plain,
And millions, ne'er to view their native groves again.
The Pygmy troops beneath, in firm array,
With eager looks the hanging foe survey;
Up to the clouds their vengeful eyes they turn,
Demand the fight, and for the combat burn;
When, lo! the Cranes, descending from on high,
Rush through the air, and dart along the sky;
Amidst his ranks they drive their plunging bands,
And give that battle which the foe demands.
Both hosts engage,—dire, deafening murmurs rise,
And clouds of feathers floating fill the skies.
The fainting birds, their vigour to repair,
Now leave the field, and skim aloft in air;
Their strength renewed, they shoot along the plain,
Mix in the fight, and urge the war again.
Each side an equal part of glory shares,
And conquest yet for neither host declares;
Here, a brave warrior, wounded as he flies,
In circling eddies whirls around the skies:
Still as the foe his fruitless vengeance tires,
Collects his talons, and in rage expires.
There, gently streaming from the hero's veins,
A Pygmy's gore the purple field distains;
Deep murmurs from his heaving heart resound;
Panting he falls, and beats the bleeding ground.

While shades of death o'erspread his swimming eyes,
Curses the foe's inhuman claw, and dies.
And now the ghastly fields of death, all o'er
Confused with noise, and warm with smoking gore,
From every eye a soft compassion draw;
Here shines a sword, there sprawls a trembling claw:
While copious slaughter gluts the slippery plain
With wings of birds, and limbs of mortals slain.
The Pygmy chief, his falchion waving high,
Wide wasting drops,—while millions round him die.
Amidst ten thousand deaths secure he springs,
Mocks their sharp beaks, and persecuting wings.
To stop his wasting sword, th' avenging foe
In circling troops around the warrior flow.
Dark o'er his helmet thronging legions spread;
And all the battle rages round his head.
When, lo! a Crane, swift shooting from above,
(Such was the will and dire decree of Jove!)
Caught in his wounding talons, as he flies,
Fast gripes the foe, and bears him through the skies.
A cloud of birds the captive king surround,
Clap their glad wings, and waft him from the ground:
While bore aloft, and lessening as he soars,
Each Pygmy views his lord, and each deplores;
But sigh in vain, their monarch's arm o'erpowered,
Their monarch vanquished first, and then devoured.
But see, the war once more revives on high,
Sounds through the air, and ranges o'er the sky.
The Pygmy's sword around with vengeance drove;
The Cranes disdain, and gore him from above,
Then skim aloft, the sprawling chief with pain
Shrinks from the wound, and waves his arm in vain.
Such was the war, when mountains tossed on high
Shook Jove's high throne, and laboured up the sky.
While heaven and earth a doubtful fight prepare,
And rocks and thunders mingle in the air;
Till the winged bolt, all flaming from above,
Launched from the dreadful red right-hand of Jove,
Confounds the war: his falling rivals slain,
Gasp o'er the fields, and smoking hide the plain.
And now their vigour spent, their martial fire
Glowing in vain, the Pygmy troops retire:
Pale with despair, they leave the fatal field,
For pity raise their shrill low voice, and yield.
But fierce behind the Cranes pursue their way;
Dart from above, and rend the flying prey.
Through fields of death the mangled warriors chase,
And in one battle end the faithless race.

The Pygmy nation, thus so long renowned,
O'erspread with laurels, and with trophies crowned,
Resigns her fame,—for heaven and partial fate
To earth's great empires fix one certain date;
Assign the period to each nation's fame.
Thus rose and thus expired the Assyrian name.
Thus sunk (alike their glory and their doom)
Thy pride, O Persia! and thy grandeur, Rome!
Now, mixed with shades of mighty heroes slain,
The empty troops o'erspread th' Elysian plain.
And if th' important story be allowed,
Confirmed by fame, each night the Fairy-crowd,
Unbodied forms, by wondering shepherds seen,
Skim through the gloom, and gambol o'er the green.
With schemes of war no more their bosoms glow,
Forget their labours, and their feathered foe;
But sportive now in wanton dances round,
With narrow tracks they mark the flowery ground:
A greener turf the verdant ring supplies,
And in the Fairy name the Pygmy dies.

ΠΥΓΜΑΙΟ-ΓΕΡΑΝΟΜΑΧΙΑ:[1]

OR, THE

BATTLE OF THE CRANES AND PYGMIES.

FROM THE LATIN OF MR. ADDISON. IN IMITATION OF MILTON'S STYLE.

BY W. WARBURTON, D. D.

AFTERWARDS BISHOP OF GLOUCESTER.

Lusit amabiliter.

I SING the Crane and Pygmy up in arms,
And brandished tucks oppose to pointed beaks.
Raise, muse, the fury of the feathered foe,
Lead the low cohorts to the dusty field,
And men and birds in rude encounter join.
Long hath a race of vulgar heroes shone
In the bright annals of recording bards;
Fit theme for song heroic only deemed.

[1] This translation occurs in a small anonymous volume entitled 'Miscellaneous Translations in prose and verse,' *Lond.* 1724, very well known to be the juvenile performance of Bishop Warburton. Dr. Parr republished it in 1789 in his 'Tracts by Warburton and a Warburtonian,' with a short preface arraigning Bishop Hurd for not including those juvenile pieces in his edition of the prelate's works.

In pomp of numbers live the toils of fight;
And endless pæans echo through the lines.
The youth of Greece fill the wide mouth of fame;
Theseus and stern Achilles triumph still;
Pious Æneas charms the listening age;
And Boyne preserves immortal William's name;
The Theban brothers, and great Pompey's fall,
Command a mighty tribute of our tears.
I first turn devious from the beaten track
Averse, on higher argument intent;
Standards not yet unfurled in song display,
And tune a shriller trumpet's mimic notes;
Draw little champions vibrating the spear,
And long-winged warriors rushing from the clouds.
Where the sun's genial rays mature the east,
And India glows with the first blush of day,
(Surrounded with inhospitable rocks,)
In a green vale, approached by few, there stood,
While fate propitious smiled, the glowing empire
Of the Pygmean race. The plain then thronged
With thick inhabitants, a well-ordered state;
Each studious to promote the common weal,
And cultivate the little arts of life.
If haply now the curious traveller
Over the rocky mound pursues his way,
A dreary desert waste and wild he sees,
Whitened with little bones of heroes slain,
Half-ruined palaces and nodding towers,
Wide desolation! strike the wondering sight,
A region dolorous; th' obscene abode
Of the exulting Crane: securely now
She weaves her nest, and plumes her callow young.
Not so while the small progeny possessed
The seat of empire, which long, long gave laws
To the remotest corner of the plain.
Then if the venturous foe with inroads pierced,
On ravages intent, the little corps,
Still upon guard, rush vigorous to the field,
With hostile blood revenge their country's wrongs,
And strew the ground with slaughtered carcasses:
Returning from the field, each loaded chief
Triumphant drags along the indignant prey,
Which roasted crowns the victor's genial board.
Oft was the unwary bird in ambush slain,
Oft were their nests demolished; on their young
Was wreaked the rage due to the parents' crimes.
For when, with wondrous toil and care, they'd raised
The artful structure for the future fowl,
Sudden the active infantry alarmed

Rush down upon them in a storm of war.
Razed are their works; the fatal sword cuts short
The springing life, while yet the half-formed foe
Lies hid in the frail orb's defenceless round.
War, fatal war, for these dire seeds arose;
Bands breathing slaughter, men and birds in arms,
And grisly deaths in different forms confused.
Far less the bloody fights which once engaged,
In mock sublime, the bold Mæonian bard,
When noisy war disturbed the marshy realms.
(Dreadful to see!) Here lay the mangled trunk
Of an expiring mouse, with hostile rushes gored;
There a maimed frog in hoarser murmurs croaks.
With one leg lopped he creeps along the field,
Disabled to essay the active leap.
O little mortals, blind in fate! alas,
In an ill hour ye sought those hostile tents.
Now dawns the day that ye shall wish untouched
The eggs and offspring of th' offended fowl.
For with repeated wrongs provoked, the Cranes
Convene a council to consult revenge.
The fierce inhabitants of Strymon's flood,
Of lakey Mareotis, and the banks
Of distant Caister's well-watered meads,
Throng to the general Diet: with them came,
In league offensive and defensive joined,
The borderers of Scythia's frozen shores,
And the remotest Ister's mighty stream.
Slaughters and threatened wounds they meditate;
Sharpen the talons, and their pinions plume;
And whet the fatal beak for future fight:
So great their thirst of blood, so mighty their revenge.
The spring now opens the campaign; aloft
The brave confederated nations rise.
O'er distant tracts of lands and seas disjoined,
Borne on expanded wings, they steer their course.
And now they penetrate the clouds; through storms
And northern snows now force their desperate way.
Air labours with th' unusual waste of plumes,
And the loud cackling fills the concave round.
The din of war no less disturbed the plains,
For there their country's cause provokes to arms
The active Pygmy troops, militiaed out,
In fronted brigades marshalled to the charge.
Two flanking wings secure th' embodied war,
And thick battalions scour the hostile ground.
Impatient for the charge they shake the dart,
And silent meet the horrid front of death.

Full in the centre stalks their haughty chief,
Advancing onward; and above the rest,
In shape and gesture proudly eminent,
Stood like a giant;—half a yard in height.
Most gloomy was his stare: his honest face
Deep scars of hostile talons had intrenched:
Nor less his manly breast, wide spread, declared
True princely worth, fresh mark with cruel beaks.
For he was born to wage against the Crane
Eternal battles and immortal hate.
And dearly he repaid the wounds they lent.
When comet-like his dreadful blade he waved,
Before its lightning flew the blasted foe,
Or in a moment lost his power to fly.
What heaps of slaughter has it made! how oft
Has th' unfletched infant fallen before its edge!
Alas! how oft has widowed Strymon mourned
Her husband's and her son's untimely fate!
And now ———
From a black cloud, surcharged with war and foes,
Loud shouts proceed, frightful to mortal ears,
Which still increase reëchoing from the field.
Till near advanced a mighty host of birds
Appear, whose front, of hideous depth and length,
Vexes the troubled air from pole to pole;
While a disastrous darkness veils the camp.
Now numberless; but to revisit soon,
In thinner ranks and more contracted bands,
Their native shores, in an ill hour forsook.
Thus braved, the Pygmy loud requires the fight,
And with impatience eyes the hovering storm.
Long need he not, for soon the vengeful fowl
Rush down precipitant with horrid shouts
On the firm troops, collected in their might.
Wild uproar rages; dire is the noise
Of conflict; scattered plumes fly all around.
Spent with long toil the bold Strymonians rise,
High soaring on main wing; then breathe awhile,
And with redoubled rage the fight renew.
Long time in equal scale the battle hung.
A daring Crane, by the brave foe transfixed,
Here furious raves and whirls in bloody orbs;
While feebly he attempts the last home push,
He falls, he gathers up his claws, and dies.
There a stabbed Pygmy, weltering in his blood,
With thick and heavy groans sighs out his soul,
Which curses as it goes the fatal beak:
Thick patters with his little heels the ground.

Noisy confusion fills the frighted field,
Which blushes with the blood of prostrate chiefs;
Fingers and claws, dismembered arms and wings,
And broken swords and beaks lie scattered round the plain.
Where the thick battle raged, the Pygmy king
Prodigious power had shown; around him rose
A rampart of the bodies of the slain.
Dauntless 'midst deaths he stood, like fate, unmoved,
Nor aught availed the united flap of wings
Or ported beaks; where'er he turned they fled.
And now the fortune of the day is lodged
In his right arm alone; when, sad to tell!
A formidable fowl, with outstretched wing,
Sudden from all his conquests snatched the prince,
(So willed the gods,) and bore amid the clouds.
Pendant he hung; glad clamours fill the sky,
While his sad people helpless mourn below
Their wriggling captive monarch, doomed to feast
The savage conqueror's insatiate maw.
Now its most frightful visage war puts on.
Th' infernal Crane, still soaring in his flight,
Tears with remorseless claws the wretched chief;
Impatient of the wound, he flings, he raves,
And beats the air, in dying pangs convulsed.
Such was the dreadful scene when fell Briareus,
Titanian, or earth-born, raging fierce,
Threw shaggy Pelion to the throne of heaven;
And struck th' almighty thunderer from his seat.
Rocks through mid air encountered fiery bolts,
Hurled to and fro with jaculation dire.
Winged with forked lightning the hoarse thunder flies
From Jove's red arm, thick on the rebel crew;
Till overthrown the giant carnage lay
Involved in smoke, and hot with sulphurous wounds.
Their mightiest quelled, the fainting battle swerves,
With many an inroad torn; o'erpowered at length,
Disorder enters, and foul rout ensues.
Part fly outright, part suppliant fall before
Th' insulting victors pressing on the rear.
The vengeful bird, alas! no quarter gives,
Bent on entire destruction of the race.
Thus the Pygmean empire, that had stood
Triumphant 'midst innumerable wars,
So glorious to herself, so fatal to the Crane,
Now saw her towering structures laid in dust,
Her throne subverted, and her name no more.
For earthly states have all determined periods,
Beyond whose date they're not to be prolonged.

So ended once proud Babylon's domain;
Then Persia, next in power, so next in fate,
And Rome immortal, last and greatest, fell.
Now on Elysian plains the happy shades
Dwell undisturbed. Perspicuous in the throng
Rise the old heroes' more majestic forms.
If credit we may give to ancient tale,
Full oft has the belated peasant seen
The jocund elves, by shady grove, or fount,
Or forest lawn, their moonlight revels keep;
While, safe from dire alarm of Cranes, and lost
To former toil, on mirth and dance intent,
They mark fine ringlets in distinguished green;
Now by the name of Fairies better known.

THE BATTLE OF THE PYGMIES AND CRANES.

TRANSLATED FROM THE PYGMÆO-GERANO-MACHIA OF ADDISON,
BY JAMES BEATTIE, LL.D. 1762.

THE Pygmy-people and the feathered train,
Mingling in mortal combat on the plain,
I sing. Ye muses, favour my designs,
Lead on my squadrons, and arrange the lines;
The flashing swords and fluttering wings display,
And long bills nibbling in the bloody fray;
Cranes darting with disdain on tiny foes,
Conflicting birds and men, and war's unnumbered woes.
The wars and woes of heroes six feet long
Have oft resounded in Pierian song.
Who has not heard of Colchos' golden fleece,
And Argo manned with all the flower of Greece?
Of Thebes' fell brethren; Theseus stern of face;
And Peleus' son, unrivalled in the race;
Eneas, founder of the Roman line,
And William, glorious on the banks of Boyne?
Who has not learned to weep at Pompey's woes,
And over Blackmore's epic page to doze?
'Tis I, who dare attempt unusual strains,
Of hosts unsung, and unfrequented plains;
The small shrill trump, and chiefs of little size,
And armies rushing down the darkened skies.
Where India reddens to the early dawn,
Winds a deep vale from vulgar eye withdrawn:
Bosomed in groves the lowly region lies,
And rocky mountains round the border rise.
Here, till the doom of fate its fall decreed,
The empire flourished of the Pygmy-breed;

Here Industry performed, and Genius planned,
And busy multitudes o'erspread the land.
But now to these lone bounds if pilgrim stray,
Tempting through craggy cliffs the desperate way,
He finds the puny mansion fallen to earth,
Its godlings mouldering on th' abandoned hearth;
And starts, where small white bones are spread around,
"Or little footsteps lightly print the ground;"
While the proud Crane her nest securely builds,
Chattering amid the desolated fields.
But different fates befell her hostile rage,
While reigned, invincible through many an age,
The dreaded Pigmy: roused by war's alarms,
Forth rushed the madding mannikin to arms.
Fierce to the field of death the hero flies;
The faint Crane fluttering flaps the ground, and dies;
And by the victor borne, (o'erwhelming load!)
With bloody bill loose-dangling marks the road.
And oft the wily dwarf in ambush lay,
And often made the yellow young his prey;
With slaughtered victims heaped his board, and smiled,
T' avenge the parent's trespass on the child.
Oft, where his feathered foe had reared her nest,
And laid her eggs and household gods to rest,
Burning for blood, in terrible array,
The eighteen-inch militia burst their way;
All went to wreck; the infant foeman fell,
When scarce his chirping bill had broke the shell.
Loud uproar hence, and rage of arms, arose,
And the fell rancour of encountering foes;
Hence Dwarfs and Cranes one general havoc whelms,
And Death's grim visage scares the Pigmy-realms.
Not half so furious blazed the warlike fire
Of mice, high theme of the Mæonian lyre;
When bold to battle marched th' accoutred frogs,
And the deep tumult thundered through the bogs.
Pierced by the javelin bulrush on the shore,
Here agonizing rolled the mouse in gore;
And there the frog, (a scene full sad to see!)
Shorn of one leg, slow sprawled along on three;
He vaults no more with vigorous hops on high,
But mourns in hoarsest croaks his destiny.
And now the day of woe drew on apace,
A day of woe to all the Pigmy-race,
When dwarfs were doomed (but penitence was vain)
To rue each broken egg and chicken slain.
For, roused to vengeance by repeated wrong,
From distant climes the long-billed legions throng:

From Strymon's lake, Cäyster's plashy meads,
And fens of Scythia, green with rustling reeds,
From where the Danube winds through many a land,
And Mareotis laves th' Egyptian strand,
To rendezvous they waft on eager wing,
And wait assembled the returning spring.
Meanwhile they trim their plumes for length of flight,
Whet their keen beaks and twisting claws, for fight;
Each Crane the Pigmy-power in thought o'erturns,
And every bosom for the battle burns.
When genial gales the frozen air unbind,
The screaming legions wheel, and mount the wind;
Far in the sky they form their long array,
And land and ocean stretched immense survey
Deep, deep beneath; and, triumphing in pride,
With clouds and winds commixed, innumerous ride:
'Tis wild obstreperous clangour all, and heaven
Whirls, in tempestuous undulation driven.
Nor less th' alarm that shook the world below,
Where marched in pomp of war th' embattled foe;
Where mannikins with haughty step advance,
And grasp the shield, and couch the quivering lance:
To right and left the lengthening lines they form,
And ranked in deep array await the storm.
High in the midst the chieftain-dwarf was seen,
Of giant stature and imperial mien:
Full twenty inches tall he strode along,
And viewed with lofty eye the wondering throng;
And while with many a scar his visage frowned,
Bared his broad bosom, rough with many a wound
Of beaks and claws, disclosing to their sight
The glorious meed of high heroic might.
For with insatiate vengeance he pursued,
And never-ending hate, the feathery brood.
Unhappy they, confiding in the length
Of horny beak or talon's crooked strength,
Who durst abide his rage; the blade descends,
And from the panting trunk the pinion rends:
Laid low in dust the pinion waves no more,
The trunk disfigured stiffens in its gore.
What hosts of heroes fell beneath his force!
What heaps of chicken carnage marked his course!
How oft, O Strymon, thy lone banks along,
Did wailing Echo waft the funeral song!
And now from far the mingling clamours rise,
Loud and more loud rebounding through the skies.
From skirt to skirt of heaven, with stormy sway,
A cloud rolls on and darkens all the day.

Near and more near descends the dreadful shade,
And now in battailous array displayed,
On sounding wings, and screaming in their ire,
The Cranes rush onward and the fight require.
  The Pigmy-warriors eye with fearless glare
The host thick swarming o'er the burdened air;
Thick swarming now, but to their native land
Doomed to return a scanty straggling band.—
When sudden, darting down the depth of heaven,
Fierce on th' expecting foe the Cranes are driven:
The kindling frenzy every bosom warms,
The region echoes to the crash of arms:
Loose feathers from th' encountering armies fly,
And in careering whirlwinds mount the sky.
To breathe from toil upsprings the panting Crane,
Then with fresh vigour downward darts again.
Success in equal balance hovering hangs.
Here, on the sharp spear, mad with mortal pangs,
The bird transfixed in bloody vortex whirls,
Yet fierce in death the threatening talon curls:
There, while the life-blood bubbles from his wound,
With little feet the Pigmy beats the ground;
Deep from his breast the short, short sob he draws,
And dying curses the keen-pointed claws.
Trembles the thundering field, thick covered o'er
With falchions, mangled wings, and streaming gore,
And Pigmy-arms, and beaks of ample size,
And here a claw and there a finger lies.
  Encompassed round with heaps of slaughtered foes,
All grim in blood the Pigmy-champion glows.
And on th' assailing host impetuous springs,
Careless of nibbling bills and flapping wings;
And midst the tumult wheresoe'er he turns,
The battle with redoubled fury burns;
From every side th' avenging Cranes amain
Throng, to o'erwhelm this terror of the plain.
When suddenly (for such the will of Jove)
A fowl enormous, sousing from above,
The gallant chieftain clutched, and, soaring high,
(Sad chance of battle!) bore him up the sky.
The Cranes pursue, and clustering in a ring,
Chatter triumphant round the captive king.
But ah! what pangs each Pigmy-bosom wrung,
When, now to Cranes a prey, on talons hung,
High in the clouds they saw their helpless lord,
His wriggling form still lessening as he soared.
  Lo! yet again, with unabated rage,
In mortal strife the mingling hosts engage.

The Crane with darted bill assaults the foe,
Hovering; then wheels aloft to 'scape the blow:
The Dwarf in anguish aims the vengeful wound;
But whirls in empty air the falchion round.
Such was the scene, when midst the loud alarms
Sublime th' eternal Thunderer rose in arms;
When Briareus, by mad ambition driven,
Heaved Pelion huge, and hurled it high at heaven.
Jove rolled redoubling thunders from on high,
Mountains and bolts encountered in the sky;
Till one stupendous ruin whelmed the crew,
Their vast limbs weltering wide in brimstone blue.
But now at length the Pygmy legions yield,
And winged with terror fly the fatal field.
They raise a weak and melancholy wail,
All in distraction scattering o'er the vale.
Prone on their routed rear the Cranes descend;
Their bills bite furious, and their talons rend:
With unrelenting ire they urge the chase,
Sworn to exterminate the hated race.
'Twas thus the Pygmy name, once great in war,
For spoils of conquered Cranes renowned afar,
Perished. For, by the dread decree of Heaven,
Short is the date to earthly grandeur given,
And vain are all attempts to roam beyond
Where fate has fixed the everlasting bound.
Fallen are the trophies of Assyrian power,
And Persia's proud dominion is no more;
Yea, though to both superior far in fame,
Thine empire, Latium, is an empty name.
And now, with lofty chiefs of ancient time,
The Pygmy heroes roam th' Elysian clime.
Or, if belief to matron-tales be due,
Full oft, in the belated shepherd's view,
Their frisking forms, in gentle green arrayed
Gambol secure amid the moonlight glade:
Secure, for no alarming Cranes molest,
And all their woes in long oblivion rest:
Down the deep vale and narrow winding way
They foot it featly, ranged in ringlets gay:
'Tis joy and frolic all, where'er they rove,
And Fairy-people is the name they love.

THE RESURRECTION.[1]

A POEM.

TRANSLATED BY MR. NICHOLAS AMHURST.

[The translator in a short preface says, "These lines (the Latin) are esteemed by the best judges to be the finest sketch of the Resurrection that any age or language has produced. Nor does their only excellence consist in being an accurate poem; but also in being an exact copy of the painter's original upon the altar in Magdalen College; but so much improved with all the strongest figures, and most lively embellishments of a poetical description, that the reader receives a double satisfaction in seeing the two sister arts so useful to each other, in borrowing mutual helps and mutual advantages.

"It is indeed," continues he, "wonderful to find, in the narrow compass of a few pages, all the most dreadful circumstances of that last terrible crisis of time. The poem is a beautiful and succinct epitome of all that has or can ever be said on that important subject; the very text which the ingenious Dr. Young has so largely and elegantly paraphrased in his excellent poem on the Last Day."]

THE pencil's glowing lines and vast command,
And mankind rising from the painter's hand,
The awful Judge arrayed in beamy light,
And spectres trembling at the dreadful sight,
To sing, O muse, the pious bard inspire,
And waken in his breast the sacred fire.

The hallowed field, a bare white wall of late,
Now clothed in gaudy colours, shines in state;
And lest some little interval confess
Its ancient simple form and homely dress,
The skilful artist laid o'er every part
The first foundation of his future art:
O'er the wide frame his ductile colours led,
And with strong primings all the wall o'erspread.

As ere yon spangling orbs were hung on high,
Lest one great blank should yawn through boundless sky,
Through the wide heavenly arch and trackless road
In azure volumes the pure Æther flowed;
The sun at length burns out intensely bright,
And the pale Crescent sheds her borrowed light;
With thick-sown stars the radiant pole is crowned,
Of milky glories a long track is found,
O'erflows and whitens all the heavens around.

So when the ground-work of the piece was laid;
Nor yet the painter had his art displayed,

[1] *Resurrectio delineata ad altare Coll. Magd. Oxon.* Vol. i. p. 243.

With slower hand, and pencil more divine,
He blends each colour, heightens every line;
Till various forms the breathing picture wears,
And a mute group of images appears.
Celestial guards the topmost height attend,
And crowds of angels o'er the wall descend;
With their big cheeks the deafening clarions wind,
Whose dreadful clangours startle all mankind:
E'en the dead hear; the labouring graves conceive,
And the swoln clod in picture seems to heave.
Ten thousand worlds revive to better skies,
And from their tombs the thronging corses rise.
So when famed Cadmus sowed the fruitful field,
With pregnant throes the quickened furrow swelled;
From the warm soil sprung up a warlike train,
And human harvests covered all the plain.
And now from every corner of the earth
The scattered dust is called to second birth;
Whether in mines it formed the ripening mass,
Or humbly mixed, and flourished in the grass.
The severed body now unites again,
And kindred atoms rally into men.
The various joints resume their ancient seats,
And every limb its former task repeats.
Here, an imperfect form returns to light,
Not half renewed, dishonest to the sight;
Maimed of his nose appears his blotted face,
And scarce the image of a man we trace:
Here, by degrees infused, the vital ray
Gives the first motion to the panting clay:
Slow to new life, the thawing fluids creep,
And the stiff joints wake heavily from sleep.
Here, on the guilty brow pale horrors glare,
And all the figure labours with despair.
From scenes like these now turn thy wondering sight,
And if thou canst withstand such floods of light,
Look! where thy Saviour fills the middle space,
The Son of God, true image of his face,
Himself eternal God, ere time began her race.
See! what mild beams their gracious influence shed,
And how the pointed radiance crowns his head!
Around his temples lambent glories shine,
And on his brow sits majesty divine;
His eye-balls lighten with celestial fires,
And every grace to speak the God conspires!
But, ah! how changed! ah! how unlike the same
From him who patient wore the mortal frame!

Who through a scene of woes drew painful breath,
And struggled with a sad, slow, long-drawn death;
Who gave on Golgotha the dreadful groan,
Bearer of others' sins and sufferings not his own.
But death and hell subdued, the Deity
Ascends triumphant to his native sky;
And rising far above th' æthereal height,
The sun and moon diminish to his sight.
And now to view he bared his bleeding side,
And his pierced hands and feet in crimson dyed;
Still did the nails the recent scars reveal,
And bloody tracks of the transfixing steel.
Hither in crowds the blessed shape their flight,
And throng the mansions of immortal light.
They mark each fatal word, each dreadful nod
And bless the righteous sentence of their God.
The fruitful matron, and the spotless maid,
And infants with a longer life repaid,
Stand round, and, drinking in celestial rays,
On their Redeemer fix with ardent gaze,
And all the heavens resound with hymns of praise.
Each bosom kindles with seraphic joy,
And conscious ecstasies the soul employ.
Not equal raptures swell the sibyl's breast
When by the inmate deity possessed;
When Phœbus the prophetic maid inspires,
And her limbs tremble with convulsive fires.
So strong, so fierce, the painted flames arise,
The pale spectator views them with surprise;
Believes the blazing wall indeed to burn,
And fears the frame should into ashes turn.
Hither in ghastly crowds the guilty haste,
Obscene with horror, and with shame defaced:
With haggard looks the gloomy fiends appear;
They gnash their foamy teeth and frown severe:
A stern avenger with relentless mind,
Waving a flamy falchion, stalks behind;
With which, as once from Paradise he drove,
He drives the sinner from the joys above.
What shall he do forlorn? or whither fly,
To shun the ken of an all-seeing eye?
What would he give among the just to shine,
And fall before Omnipotence divine!
But, oh! too late in sighs he vents his woe,
Too late his eyes with gushing tears o'erflow!
Vain are his sighs, and fruitless are his tears,
Vengeance and justice stop th' Almighty's ears.

See! with what various charms the piece is fraught,
And with what pregnant marks of judgment wrought;
With how much grace the living colours glow,
Not brighter colours paint the watery bow,
When the fresh showers her various lustre share,
And every drop with spangles decks the air.
Oh may the painter's labours never fade,
Nor wasteful time their shining charms invade:
No envious darkness shade the beauteous tints,
Till the piece sees the last great day it paints.

THE BOWLING GREEN.[1]

TRANSLATED BY MR. NICHOLAS AMHURST.

WHERE, smooth and level as the summer-main,
A spacious area opens on the plain;
While with descending dews the herbage sweats,
Nor feels the rising sun's intenser heats,
The sharpened scythe prevents the grassy height,
And reaps the scanty harvest of the night:
The rolling stone renews its morning round,
To crush the springing turf, and sink the knotty ground.
And now the polished globes, a numerous band,
Prepared for motion by the artist's hand;
Glittering with oil, and splendid to the sight,
O'er the soft verdant surface speed their flight.
But lest some bowler should his cast disown,
By different marks the different orbs are known.
For gamesters vary; some prefer the bowl
That, biassed, wheels obliquely to the goal,
While others will a different choice approve
Of those which in a line directly move.
The chosen numbers part on either side,
As or consent or doubtful lots divide:
Each chief assumes his arms; when now behold
The jack exulting o'er the surface rolled;
At which their missive orbs the bowlers aim,
And who arrives the nearest, wins the game.
The leader poises in his hand the bowl,
And gently launches to the distant goal:
The current orb prolongs its circling course,
Till by degrees it loses all its force.
When now another o'er the level bounds,
And orb succeeding orb the block surrounds:

[1] *Sphæristerium.* Vol. i. p. 246.

Scattered they lie, and barricade the green,
That scarce a single bowl can pass between.
When now with better skill, and nicer care,
The dexterous youth renews the wooden war,
Beyond the rest his winding timber flies,
And works insinuating, and wins the prize.
But if perchance he sees, with madness stung,
The lagging wood move impotent along;
If its faint motion languish on the way,
And, short of length, it press the verdant lay;
Nimbly he strides behind across the grass,
And bending, hovers o'er the rolling mass;
Lest foul disgrace should on his arm redound,
He blames the rising-rub, and guilty ground.
What sudden laughter echoes o'er the green,
When some unlucky, artless cast is seen!
When the too ponderous lead with stubborn force
Allures the globe from its appointed course!
The bowler chafes, and fruitless rage ensues,
His body to a thousand postures screws:
He blames he knows not what, with angry blood,
He frets, he stamps, and damns the erroneous wood:
The erroneous wood his fruitless rage disdains,
And still its former wayward course maintains.
But if a bowl, dismissed with equal strength,
Obtains exactly the intended length,
And, nicely passing through the crowding balls,
Prone on the passive jack incumbent falls;
With loud applause the splitting heavens they rend,
And all the caster and the cast commend.
When now the adverse foe projects around
His careful eyes, and marks the ambient ground;
And, studious the contiguous globes to part,
He summons all his strength and all his art;
The exerted vigour of his nerves applies,
And rapid from his arm the brandished engine flies.
Scarce half so swiftly to the Elëian goal,
With rival speed the whirling chariots roll;
While the fleet axle mocks the lagging wind,
And leaves the flying village far behind.
When, if the wooden guards immure the foe,
And break the vengeance of the whirling blow;
If the conflicting orbs are driven around,
And, loosely scattered, strew the Olympic ground:
He chides his fate, his fervid spleen boils high,
Calls the gods false, and damns the guilty sky.
But if his bowl with easy passage slide,
And with a clash the wedded orbs divide;

His partners shout, the crowd espouse his cause,
And the wide plain re-murmurs with applause.
Meanwhile the dog-star burns with sultry heat,
And every limb is drowned in briny sweat:
They court the shady breeze, and cool of day,
And from their temples wipe the trickling drops away.

AN ODE TO DR. HANNES,[1]

AN EMINENT PHYSICIAN ARD POET.

TRANSLATED BY REV. THOS. NEWCOMBE.

I.

WHILE flying o'er the golden strings,
You gently wake the tuneful lyre;
Or tender, as when Orpheus sings,
With softer sounds the harp inspire:
Sad fleeting ghosts with art constrain
Back to a kinder life again.

II.

Whether in graceful lays you shine,
And verse your easy hours employ;
Or give the soul, her mouldering shrine
Decayed, a fairer to enjoy;
The body, cold in death, explore,
Thy skill could only—not restore.

III.

Awhile thy learned toil decline,
Nor anxious more, in smiles allow
The circling glass, the generous wine,
To unbend and smooth thy cheerful brow;
Nor longer to thyself severe,
In the rich draught forget thy care.

IV.

Now, with thy monarch's glory fired,
Let great Nassau thy thirst inflame;
Or by his Montague[2] inspired,
Record the patriot's faithful name,
By whose wise arts, and watchful pains,
He rules in peace, in safety reigns.

V.

At length thy mournful task forbear,
From saddening thoughts some respite find!
And, while we bless thy pious care,
Be to thyself in pity kind;

[1] *Ad D. D. Hannes, insignissimum Medicum et Poetam.* Vol. i. p. 248.
[2] The Earl of Halifax.

Inspired with your own blessings live,
Nor want yourself that bloom you give.

VI.

In vain the blood's tumultuous tide
And circling stream your hand restrains;
Taught o'er the pulses to preside,
And well explore the bubbling veins,
That with the fever's swelling heat
Glow more inflamed, more fiercely beat.

VII.

In vain you try each chymic power,
Trace to its spring the sanguine wave,
And kindly search each healing flower
For helps to guard us from the grave:
In endless bloom to bid us live,
Which thou nor they, alas! can give.

VIII.

One certain fate, by Heaven decreed,
In spite of thee we all must try,
When from her bursting prison freed,
The mounting soul shall claim the sky.
Our sons must once lament our doom,
And shed their sorrows round our tomb.

IX.

Thou too shalt with pale horror see
The fabled ghosts which glare below,
Which to the shades, restrained by thee,
In thinner shoals descending flow;
And death, whose power you now defy,
Shall boast her conqueror can die.

X.

His life alone is greatly blest
Whom no intruding griefs annoy;
Who smiles each happy day, possest
Of cheerful ease, and guiltless joy:
Nor, sadly smoothing his own cares,
Augments himself the weight he bears.

XI.

Pleased with a few selected friends,
He views each smiling evening close,
While each succeeding morn ascends,
Charged with delights, unmarked with woes:
In pleasures innocently gay,
Wears the remains of life away.

THE PUPPET-SHOW.[1]

TRANSLATED BY MR. GEO. SEWELL.

Of trivial things I sing, surprising scenes,
Crowds void of thought, and nations in machines.
A race diminutive; whose frames were built
Free from the sacrilege of ancient guilt;
Who from a better new Prometheus came;
Nor boast the plunder of celestial flame.
There, where facetious Andrew rises high,
And draws the peopled-street beneath his eye;
With witty jests the gaping crowd derides,
Distorts their muscles, and fatigues their sides.
All sons of mirth, the gay, the curious come,
Enter the booth, and fill the spacious room.
Not undistinguished are the honours there,
But different seats their different prices bear.
At length, when now the curtain mounts on high,
The narrow scenes are opened to the eye;
Where wire-partitions twinkle to the sight,
That cut the vision and divide the light;
Ingenious artifice! of sure deceit,
Since naked prospects would betray the cheat!
And now the squeaking tribe proceeding roams
O'er painted mansions and illustrious domes.
Within this humble cell, this narrow wall,
Assemblies, battles, conquests, triumphs, all
That human minds can act, or pride survey,
On their low stage, the little nation play.
But one above the rest distinguished stalks;
A hero, who in hoarser accents talks.
Large is the buckle that his vest controls;
His mimic eye with living motion rolls.
His belly turgid of enormous size;
Behind his back, a bulk of mountain lies.
Huge, manly, tall, he frights the Pygmy-court,
Who fly and wonder at his giant-port.
Audacious hero he, who much relies
On his unequal arm, and haughty size.
Of these superior gifts and talents proud,
He mocks and rallies all the lesser crowd:

[1] *Machinæ gesticulantes, &c.* Vol. i. p. 219.

Scatters his satire round, and oft provokes
The crowd to laughter by facetious jokes.
E'en when some serious action is displayed,
And solemn pomps in long procession made,
He uncontrollable, of humour rude,
Must with unseasonable mirth intrude:
Scornful he grins upon their tragic rage,
And disconcerts the fable of the stage.
Sometimes the graceless wight, with saucy air,
Makes rude approaches to the painted fair:
The nymph retires, he scorns to be withstood,
And forces kisses on th' unwilling wood.
Not so his fellows of inferior parts,
They please the theatre with various arts;
Lascivious sport, in circling turns advance,
And tire their little limbs in active dance.
Sometimes the wooden people you behold
Attired in rich array of figured gold:
Rows of dissembled jewels blaze around,
And robes of Tyrian purple stain the ground.
For when their tribes in pageantry display
The mimic grandeur of some solemn day,
The painted nymphs proceed, a comely train,
In order just, and brighten all the plain,
Nobles of stature small attract the eyes,
And last the commons of an humbler size.
The pleased spectator, as these scenes he views,
The Pygmy-nation in his mind renews:
He fancies now the Cranes' invasions cease;
Their warlike souls are softened by a peace,
And now secure in guiltless sports they play,
Laugh down the sun, and dance away the day.
Thus, when the stars obtain their midnight sphere,
A race like these of human form appear;
The fairy train, that, dancing in the dark,
Return in circles, and their footsteps mark:
The merry goblins, constant to the round,
In measure trip, and beat the hallowed ground.
The morn betrays the print. The fruitful earth
From hence teems pregnant with a juicy birth,
Luxuriant growths of bolder grass are seen,
That rise in circles of a deeper green.
Yet, oh! some clouds obscure their peaceful days,
Wars, horrid wars, disastrous tumults raise.
The joys of peace are broke by rough alarms,
The troops breathe slaughter, and prepare for arms.
So insincere is mortal bliss! so sure
Care blends our joys, and makes them all impure!

Now swords and warring arms the prospect mar,
Protended spears, that glitter from afar,
And sulphurous tubes, dread equipage of war.
The din of fight begins; a direful sound
Flies through the dome, and shakes the walls around;
From the burst volumes sputtering sulphurs tost
Promiscuous hiss, and sounds in sounds are lost.
Confusion reigns; the field of war bespread,
Reveals, unhappy view! her heaps of dead:
Think on all hands, extended on the stage,
Slain troops appear, the guilt of civil rage.
But when they have allayed their martial ire,
And their calm spirits breathe a sober fire:
The war concluded, they resume their parts,
Repeat their former toils, and various arts.
Now oft the heroes of the sacred[1] page,
Great souls! the product of a better age,
Redeemed and rescued from the silent urn,
On this low stage in miniature return.
There may you see a venerable band
Of patriarch-sires in hoary order stand;
Their faces furrowed, as they once appeared,
And their chins clothed with silver lengths of beard.
So, long consuming age, from day to day,
Contracted Tithon by a slow decay.
From wasting stage to stage he gradual past,
And sunk into a grasshopper at last.
Now sing we whence the puppet-actors came,
What hidden power supplies the hollow frame;
What cunning agent o'er the scenes presides,
And all the secret operation guides.
The turner shapes the useless log with care,
And forces it a human form to wear:
With the sharp steel he works the wooden race,
And lends the timber an adopted face.
Tenacious wires the legs and feet unite,
And arms connected keep the shoulders right.
Adapted organs to fit organs join,
And joints with joints, and limbs with limbs combine.
Then adds he active wheels and springs unseen,
By which he artful turns the small machine,
That moves at pleasure by the secret wires;
And last his voice the senseless trunk inspires.
From such a union of inventions came,
And to perfection grew, the puppet-frame;
The workman's mark its origin reveal,
And own the traces of the forming steel.

[1] Alluding to the creation of the world.

Hence are its dance, its motions, and its tone,
Its squeaking voice, and accents not its own.

AN

ODE TO THE LEARNED DR. THOMAS BURNETT,[1]

AUTHOR OF THE SACRED THEORY OF THE EARTH.

TRANSLATED BY REV. THOS. NEWCOMBE.

I.

No common height the muse must soar,
That would thy fame in numbers try;
Nor dare in humble verse adore,
But rise with thee above the sky;
You ask a bold and lofty strain,
And what we meanly sing, disdain.

II.

You nature's early birth explore,
The secrets of her womb disclose,
From what mixed cause, and jarring power,
The infant-earth to being rose:
How, in her circling bosom, sleep
Th' imprisoned seas, and bounded deep.

III.

Resolved great hidden truths to trace,
Each learned fable you despise;
And, pleased, enjoy the famed disgrace
To think and reason, singly wise:
Each tale reject by time allowed,
And nobly leave the erring crowd.

IV.

Hark! from her weak foundations tore,
The bursting earth asunder flies,
And, propped by yielding seas no more,
The dreadful crack alarms the skies:
Whose arches rent, their weight forego,
And plunge in opening gulfs below.

V.

Now rushing from their watery bed,
The driving waves disdain a shore;
And with resistless force o'er-spread
That orb, which checked their rage before:
While, scattered o'er the foamy tide,
All nature's floating ruins ride.

[1] *Ad insignissimum Virum D. Tho. Burnettum.* Vol. i. p. 251.

VI.

New heavens revealed, the silver train
The sun beneath their waves admire;
And gliding through th' enlightened main,
Gaze at each star's unwonted fire.
Well pleased the moon's bright orb survey,
Trembling along their azure play.

VII.

How strong each line, each thought how great!
With what an energy you rise!
How shines each fancy! with what heat
Does every glowing page surprise!
While spouting oceans upward flow,
Or sink concealed in caves below.

VIII.

As nature's doom you thus impart,
The dreadful scene we scarce endure;
But, shrinking, ask our anxious heart,
If on our earth we tread secure;
Whose fate unmoved, as you pursue,
We start and tremble but to view.

IX.

Yet these remains we now behold,
Which towering once in hills arose,
Shall from a new and fairer mould
A new and fairer earth compose:
Which to her fate shall owe her bloom,
And date fresh glories from the tomb.

X.

Yet see this beauteous fabric end,
This second pride of fate expire;
While gushing from the clouds descend
The burning storm, the liquid fire;
Where worlds and men consuming lie,
And in one blaze of ruin die.

XI.

Their naked tops the hills admire,
No longer white with fleecy dew;
And as they moan the spreading fire,
Add to the flames dissolving too:
While rocks from melting mountains flow,
And roll in streams through vales below.

XII.

And now the kindling orbs on high
All nature's mournful end proclaim;
When thy great work, (alas!) must die,
And feed the rich, victorious flame:

Give vigour to the wasting fire,
And with the world, too soon, expire.

XIII.

Once more her bloom the earth renews,
Smoothed into green eternal vales;
Her glebe still moist with fragrant dews,
Her air still rich with balmy gales:
No change her flowery seasons breed,
But springs retire, and springs succeed.

XIV.

O say, thou great, thou sacred name,
What scenes thy thoughtful breast employ;
Capacious as that mighty frame,
You raise with ease, with ease destroy.
Each world with thy fair glories filled,
The earth you burn, and that you build.

SKATING: A POEM.

[* * * This Poem, 'Cursus Glacialis,' *Anglice* 'Skating,' although printed in the *Musæ Anglicanæ* as the production of PHILIP FROWDE, and signed by him, is asserted by Mr. George Sewell, in his preface to Curll's volume 1725, to be 'certainly' written by Addison. The same assertion is repeated in a rare volume of 'Addison's Miscellaneous works,' printed for Cogan, 1750. The Latin original is found in every edition of the *Musæ Anglicanæ*, a very common book. It will be sufficient here to give the English.]

SEE nature round a hoary prospect yields,
And beds of snow conceal the whiten'd fields:
Bleak winter blasts, congealing where they fly,
Shoot their keen darts, and mingling fill the sky.
The silent streams in murmurs cease to move,
Locked in their shores by icy bands above:
No more through vales they draw their hardened train,
But form, unmoved, a silent, silver plain:
The watery gods, who dwell in courts below,
Lament their stubborn waves no longer flow:
Each sad to view the empire where he reigns,
Enclosed above, and bound with crystal chains.
Yet this bleak season of th' inclement year
Can boast delights the smiling youth to cheer;
With vigorous sports the winter rage defy,
New brace the nerves, and active life supply.

Each now the labour hardy to endure,
Who boast a steady strength, and tread secure,
With panting joy the frozen kingdom gain,
Rush to the shore, and hide the crackling plain:
Now in long tracks with sailing speed they shoot,
And tire unarmed the vigour of the foot:
Now o'er the race in winding circles wheel,
Drove round, and carried on their *shining steel.*[1]
See! there the youth with eager passion glow,
Bound from above, and fill the plains below;
Skim lightly o'er the waves, and scarce deface
With beauteous prints the silver-shining race.
See! in the midst of their smooth journey, skilled,
They stop, and turn, and mark the glittering field;
Razing the surface, on they wheel around,
Which bends, and yields, and cracks beneath the wound;
They o'er the chace with easy labour drove,
Now here, now there, in endless mazes move.
If we such pleasures from its rigour gain,
The winter sheds its keenest rage in vain,
While with full joy the panting heart o'erflows,
And the fair cheek with fairer purple glows.
Here, if by chance, unable to convey
Too great a weight, the parting ice give way;
Or the bright knots, which on its surface rise,
O'erturn the hasty racer as he flies;
What shouts, what laughter, fill the echoing skies!
No pity in one merry face appears,
The wretch o'erwhelmed with jokes instead of tears:
His treacherous feet, and garments, as they flow,
Augment his fellows' joy, the hero's woe.
But if, descending on the slippery plain,
The rival youth for fame and glory strain;
Shoot from the barrier, and, with wishful eye,
To reach the goal, bend forward as they fly:
Breathless, around their eager arms they throw,
And lend new swiftness to their feet below.
No even tracks confess their winding way,
Confused they cross, and in meanders play;
Orb within orb, their sportive toil we view,
Whitening with steel the circles where they flew.

[1] Skates.

So when a *swallow* wantons in the air,
The spring arrived, and smiling season fair;
In doubtful mazes she her flight pursues,
Now sips the stream, now drinks the fragrant dews;
Now skims the flowery meadows, but to rise
Anon more lofty, and regain her skies.
Her airy windings each with joy surveys,
Views her quick turns, and wonders as she plays.
Skilled in these arts, (if not by fame belied,)
When chilling winters bind the solid tide;
Their ancient tracks the Belgian realms disdain,
For nearer paths along the frozen main:
The sliding traveller will now no more
Regard the mazes of the winding shore;
Pleased, o'er the waves, his pleasures does pursue,
With longing eyes some absent friend to view;
Or gaze on distant cities which arise
In foreign realms, and warmed by foreign skies.
Now to the faithful sea the matron dares
Herself commit, and trust her brittle wares;
Fearless the flying dame, lest she, or they,
By chance o'erturned, should sink the ocean's prey;
With shining furrows all the plain abounds,
Her icy journey marked with silver wounds.

DISSERTATIO DE INSIGNIORIBUS ROMANORUM POETIS.

(AUCTORE JOS. ADDISON.)[1]

OMNIUM, in re poeticâ, maxime inclaruerunt Romani, et Romanorum Virgilius: optimæ quæque regulæ, huic arti

TRANSLATION,

By Mr. Christopher Hayes.

OF all the nations in the world, the Romans have most excelled in the art of poetry, and even among the Romans Virgil has been

[1] Dr. Parr set great value on this Dissertation, which he says is "not inserted in the quarto edition of Addison's Works, and but little known." (Bibl. Parr, p. 628.) In another part of his Catalogue he says he was many years in search of it, and adds: "I am at a loss to account for the omission both of the Latin and the English in the variorum edition of Addison's Works." Bibl. Parr, p. 285. There appear to be at least five editions, viz. 1692, 1698, 1718, 1725, and 1750.

inservientes, non tam criticorum præceptis, quam Maronis exemplo, sunt depromendæ. Ut ideo de reliquis heroici carminis scriptoribus, recte statuamus virtutes et vitia, quæ apud singulos occurrunt, lectioni conferamus Virgilianæ; qui, si ullibi defecerit Bucolicis, nonnunquam puriorem immiscuit styli elegantiam, quam quæ pastoribus conveniat; et sæpe grandior sonat carminum majestas, quam quæ tenui avenæ consona videatur. Apud quemlibet Georgicorum librum, inimitabili quâdam sermonis elegantiâ, res rusticæ explicantur; sed ultimus, de Apum Naturâ, valde, præter cæteros, animum delectat; ubi, dum in tenui argumento procedit poema, solennem quandam sententiarum et verborum pompam studiose affectat poeta. Apum ideo opera Cyclopum assimulat laboribus, nec majori carminum tumultu Æneæ et Turni recitat certamina, quam hasce insectorum turmas inter sese depræliantes. Ubique exiguæ reipublicæ duces, populi, studia, mores, et tenue illud imperium, quod intra alvearii angustias exercetur, venustâ, nescio quâ, carminis magnificentiâ exprimuntur: Quin hoc certe in toto opere præcipue occurrit admirandum, quomodo, dum plantationis, pastionis, et agriculturæ curas exequitur poeta,

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the most deservedly celebrated; from whom the justest rules of this art are rather to be taken, than from the dry precepts of the critics. To the end, therefore, that we may the more truly ascertain the beauties and faults which occur among the rest of the writers of Heroic Poetry, let us compare them with the style of Virgil; who if he be in anything deficient, it is, when he has sometimes in his Eclogues mingled such a purity of style as is not entirely agreeable with the dialect of shepherds; and frequently the dignity of his verse seems no way consonant to the rural pipe. In every book of his Georgics, he treats of country affairs with an inimitable elegancy of style; but, above all, we are most delighted with his last book, of the Nature of Bees; where, in a poem on so inconsiderable a subject, our author purposely affects a peculiarly solemn and pompous style. In this piece he compares the labours of the bees to those of the Cyclops; and in the same lofty numbers recounts the skirmishes of these little insects among themselves, as he does the rencounters of Æneas and Turnus. All along, the generals of this small republic, the populace, the factions, the customs and forms of government exercised within the narrow limits of the bee-hive, are described with an inexpressible beauty and magnificence. Throughout the whole work, what mostly raises our admiration is, that in the pursuit of his discourse on planting, grazing, and agriculture,

omissis usitatioribus loquendi formulis, materiæ tam incultæ locutionem poeticam accommodaret; quomodo ignobiliori depressus argumento nunquam ad stylum plebeium orationem demiserat: sed tanta undique apparet locutionum vis, ut multi (quamvis temere) Georgicos etiam Æneidi prætulisse non dubitarint; sed in hoc opere, per argumentum, non licuit alias poeseῶs partes præstitisse, quam styli et descriptionum elegantiam. Quod ad utrumque attinet, illud sibi proprium semper vendicat Maronis pagina, ut, quicquid exprimat, mirâ quâdam dulcedine animum ingrediatur, et quod describat, melius quam si oculis subjiciatur, tanquam præsens intueamur.

In styli puritate proxime accedit Lucretius, cujus dictio, si obsoletæ aliquando verborum antiquitati, et numeris pene solutis agnoscas, illorum palato, qui Romane sapiunt, persuavis videatur. In descriptionibus tamen Claudiano secundus debeter honos, qui amœnas rerum imagines ubique venustissimâ contexuit oratione, in hoc solummodo vitiosus, quod fusius, quam par est, semper expatietur, eosdemque versus diversis exponat loquendi modis. In hac arte sese maxime profecisse satis noverat Claudianus; de quacunque enim re satagit, assidue semper quærit quæ describenda sunt, imo plurima sumpsit argumenta, quæ tota in descriptionibus oc-

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(waiving the common forms of speech,) he suits his poetic diction to so unpolite a theme; how, seemingly depressed with the meanness of his subject, he never sinks into a plebeian style; but the force and energy of his expression are so conspicuous, that many, too rashly indeed, have not scrupled to prefer the Georgics to the Æneid: but, in a work of this nature, no other parts of poetry could be displayed, except an elegance of style and description: in both these ways Virgil has this peculiar to himself, that he captivates the soul with his wonderful sweetness, and his descriptions are as lively as if we had the object placed before our eyes.

In the purity of his style next follows Lucretius, whose diction, allowing for his obsoleteness, and numbers almost prosaic, may challenge a share of praise in those who have any taste of the Roman eloquence. For descriptions, however, the second post of honour is due to Claudian, who has throughout, in a most beautiful style, interwoven his agreeable images; faulty in this alone, that he expatiates upon his subjects beyond all decency, and frequently gives us the same thoughts, diversified only in expression. Claudian well knew what a master he was in this art, for, on whatsoever topic he is engaged, he diligently searches out matter for

cupantur, ut videre est in præfationibus, in Idylliis, in libris de raptu Proserpinæ, de Phœnice, Histrice, Torpedine, et plerisque epigrammatum.

Ovidius (ut erat aulici ingenii homo) terso quidem et polito carmine res exhibuit amatorias, in cæteris tamen operibus istiusmodi occurrit sermo, quali in triviis uti solent. Ille enim ingenio suo confisus de operosiori dictione elaborandâ parum erat satis solicitus. In libro tamen Metamorphoseōs varias optime depinxit animalium mutationes, dum prior paulatim exuitur forma et nova superinducitur.

Utrumque hoc, quod jam tractamus, poetis officium non raro optime præstitit Papinius; Lucanus neutrum, cujus dictio, quanquam multum sonat inflata, nullâ tamen phraseorum aut epithetorum venustate animatur, sed orationi magis solutæ convenit, quam poeticæ; imo certe tali plerumque utitur verborum delectû, qualem vel liber dedignetur sermo. Et quanquam in descriptionibus sæpissime versatur, et in hujusmodi diverticula nunquam non excurrit, raro tamen, ut debet, opus absolvit.

Jam vero, quod ad Statium attinet, plurima certe composuit summis poetarum invidenda, sed, inter magnas virtutes, maxima occurrunt vitia. In dictione enim verba nimis

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description; nay, most of the subjects he has wrote upon are wholly such as may be seen in his Prefaces, his Eclogues, his Books of the Rape of Proserpine, his Phœnix, his Porcupine, his Cramp-fish, and most of his Epigrams.

Ovid (like a true courtier as he was) describes the affairs of love in neat and polite verse. In the rest of his works we meet with the more vulgar way of expression; for, trusting to a good genius, he was little solicitous about forming a more elaborate style; but yet, in his Metamorphoses, he has painted, in the greatest perfection, the various changes of all creatures, and the transformations proceed in a most easy and gradual manner.

Statius has frequently discharged both these requisites of a poet we just now observed; Lucan neither, whose diction, although very bombast, is not enlivened either by beautiful phrases or epithets, but comes nearer prose than poetry; nay, there is in him commonly such a mean choice of words, as is sometimes even beneath prose itself; and although he abounds in descriptions, and is always making excursions of that kind, yet he seldom finishes his work as he ought, or brings his thoughts to any justness of conclusion.

But now, as to Statius, he has given us compositions worthy of the envy of the best poets. But with all his beauties he has greater

admittit sesquipedalia, nullâque de argumento habitâ ratione, vana numeris miscet tonitrua; nec minus in descriptionibus peccat; nimio enim calori indulgens, dum totis viribus excellere conatur, ultra finem tendit opus, et in tumorem excrescit. In utrumque hujusmodi vitium aliquando incidit Claudianus.

Jam vero, quoniam de Virgilii Æneidis argumento varii multa scripserunt et præclara, pauca solummodo de Statii et Lucani carminibus sunt advertenda; utpote, quæ Latinorum omnium sola Epica haberi debent. De Lucano id sæpe in disputationem venit, an historia, quâ constat Pharsalicum poema, idoneum sit heroici carminis argumentum.

Vera ideo heroicæ poeseῶs natura inquirenda est, quam, apud librum, de Dignitate et Augmentis Scientiarum, his verbis, optime exhibuit Verulamius nostras.

"De poesi narrativâ, sive eam heroicam appellare placet, (modo hoc intelligas de materiâ, non de versu,) ea a fundamento prorsus nobili excitata videtur, quod ad dignitatem humanæ naturæ imprimis spectat. Cum enim mundus sensibilis sit, animâ rationali, dignitate inferior, videtur poesis hæc humanæ naturæ largiri, quæ historia denegat; atque ani-

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faults; for in his expression he makes too much use of gigantic words; and, not considering his subject, mingles useless thunder in his numbers: nor is he less faulty in his descriptions; for, encouraging too great a heat, while he attempts to excel, he shoots beyond his mark, and swells unnaturally. Of both which extremes Claudian is too often guilty.

And now, since there have been many pieces written, and those of note, on the subject of Virgil's Æneis, (and less notice is taken of the poetry of Statius and Lucan,) to whose productions only the Latins allow the title of Epic Poetry. As to Lucan, it has been often disputed whether history, of which the Pharsalia consists, be a proper subject for an Heroic Poem.

For the decision of this point we must inquire into the true nature of Heroic Poetry, which our countryman, the Lord Bacon, has admirably described in his treatise Of the Advancement of Learning.

"As for Narrative Poesie, or, if you please, Heroical, (so you understand it of the matter, not of the verse,) it seems to be raised altogether from a noble foundation, which makes much for the dignity of man's nature. For, seeing this sensible world is, in dignity, inferior to the soul of man, poesie seems to endow human nature with that which history denies, and to give satisfaction to the mind, with,

mo, umbris rerum, utcunque satisfacere, cum solida haberi non possint. Si quis enim rem acutius introspiciat, firmum ex poesi sumitur argumentum, magnitudinem rerum magis illustrem, ordinem magis perfectum, et varietatem magis pulchram, animæ humanæ complacere, quam, in naturâ ipsâ, post lapsum, reperire ullo modo possit. Quapropter, cum res gestæ, et eventus, qui veræ historiæ subjiciuntur, non sint ejus amplitudinis, in quâ anima humana sibi satisfaciat, præsto est poesis, quæ facta magis heroica confingat: Cum historia vera, successus rerum, minime pro meritis virtutum et scelerum, narret; corrigit eam poesis, et exitus, et fortunas, secundum merita, et ex lege nemeseos, exhibet: Cum historia vera, obviâ rerum satietate et similitudine, animæ humanæ fastidio sit; reficit eam poesis inexpectata et varia, et vicissitudinum plena canens. Adeo ut poesis ista, non solum ad delectationem, sed etiam ad animi magnitudinem, et ad mores conferat. Quare et meritò etiam divinitatis cujuspiam particeps videri possit; quia animum erigit, et in sublime rapit: rerum simulachra ad animi desideria accommodando, non animum rebus (quod ratio facit et historia) submittendo." Ex quo satis patet, veram historiam cum epico poemate male

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at least, the shadow of things, where the substance cannot be had. For, if the matter be thoroughly considered, a strong argument may be drawn from poesie, that a more stately greatness of things, a more perfect order, and a more beautiful variety, delights the soul of man than any way can be found in nature since the fall. Wherefore, seeing the acts and events, which are the subject of true history, are not of that amplitude as to content the mind of man, poesie is ready at hand to feign acts more heroical: because true history reports the successes of business not proportionable to the merit of virtues and vices, poesie corrects it, and presents events and fortunes according to desert, and according to the law of providence: because true history, through the frequent satiety and similitude of things, works a distaste and misprision in the mind of man; poesie cheereth and refresheth the soul, chaunting things rare and various, and full of vicissitudes. So as poesie serveth and conferreth to delectation, magnanimity, and morality; and therefore it may seem deservedly to have some participation of divineness, because it accommodates its images and descriptions to the utmost desire and wish of the soul, not subjecting the mind to things or facts, as reason and history do." From whence it is sufficiently manifest, that history and epic poetry are by no means proper companions; and, therefore, that Lucan has very much failed in his principal subject: the five

convenire; et proinde, Lucanum, quoad argumentum, maxime defecisse. Quinque, in illius poemate, maxime emicant heroes, Cæsar, Pompeius, Brutus, Cato, et Cicero. Omnes sane tam vitâ insignes, quam morte luctuosi; quorum virtutes (quantum licuit per humanam naturam) perfectioni isti heroicæ, quam reliqui poetæ ducibus suis falso tribuerunt, proxime accesserant. Lucanus Cæsari undique oblatrat, Pompeii partes ambitiose fovet, sed Bruti et Catonis encomia, ob stoicum (credo) illud ingenium, quod cum his habuit commune, maxime celebrat: et plurima certe, quæ Lucano objicias, philosophiæ hujuscemodi sunt referenda. Inde immodicus iste ingenii tumor, et ambitiosa sententiarum ostentatio, quam, cum illâ hominum turbâ, semper habet in deliciis; inde quæ magna sunt, quam quæ bona sunt, maluit præferre. Hinc etiam, in eximiâ illâ poesẽs virtute, passionibus excitandis, ipse (qui omnes philosophiæ affectus tanquam illicitos existimavit) male successerat, cujus vitii unicum tantum (ut taceam cætera) argumentum proferam. Postquam in pugnâ Pharsalicâ Cæsar de Pompeio victoriam reportaverit, Lucanus maxime debuit, si aliquid ab ipsâ historiâ alienum protulisset,

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heroes who make the greatest figure in his poem, are Cæsar, Pompey, Brutus, Cato, and Cicero; each of them indeed as distinguishable in their lives, as to be lamented in their deaths; men, whose virtues, allowing for the frailties of human nature, came nearest to that pitch of heroic perfection, which other poets have falsely attributed to their heroes. Lucan everywhere snarls at Cæsar, and passionately espouses Pompey's interest; but, most of all, celebrates the characters of Brutus and Cato, for that spirit of stoicism, which he had equally imbibed with them; and, indeed, most of the faults objected to Lucan are rather to be imputed to this kind of philosophy. From whence sprung that boundless vein of wit, and that peculiar affectation of a lofty style; which, like that sect of men, he always delighted in, and therefore gives the preference rather to great than good actions. And upon this account, in raising the passions (that most excellent part of poetry) he succeeded but ill; because, upon the principles of his philosophy, the passions themselves were accounted as absolutely unlawful. To confirm this (passing by many others) I will produce but one instance: after Cæsar had obtained the victory over Pompey, in the battle of Pharsalia, Lucan certainly (if he had enlarged on any circumstance foreign to history itself) should, upon so remarkable an occasion, have lamented the undeserved fate of Pompey, in the most mourn-

lugubri quodam carmine immeritam doluisse Pompeii sortem, quippe quem, in toto opere, summo habuit honore; vel saltem ipsum Pompeium (ut ingens patuit doloris argumentum) aut de amissâ Romæ libertate, aut de amicorum mortibus, aut de propriis querentem infortuniis, introduxisse oportuit. Poeta tamen ab omni hujusmodi dolore tam longe abest, ut Pompeium obnixe hortaretur, postquam victus a bello decesserat, ut Cæsaris victoris sui commiserescat, quia nempe Cæsar non sine scelere victoriâ potitus est;

> Nonne juvat pulsum bellis cessisse, nec istud
> Prospexisse (nefas!) spumantes cæde catervas?
> Respice turbatos in cursu sanguinis amnes,
> Et soceri miserere tui; Quo pectore Romam
> Intrabit factus campis felicior istis?

Quis tulerit poetam tam ridicule philosophantem? quasi vero Pompeius senex, exul, miser, triumphatus, ob victorem suum quamvis scelestum commiserationem quandam conciperet: illum quidem maxime stoice sapuisse oportuerat, qui omnibus hisce fortunæ donis spoliatus, tantum in nudâ vir-

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ful strain; especially since he pays so high a deference to him throughout his whole work; or, at least, (as there was an open field for grief,) he should have introduced Pompey either complaining of Rome's lost liberty, the death of his friends, or his own misfortunes. But Lucan is so far from raising the passions to this just height, that he warmly advises Pompey (when, vanquished, he retires from the field of action) to commiserate the condition of his conqueror Cæsar, because he had not won the day, but by unjustifiable methods.

> Don't you rejoice that your superior foes
> Have snatched you from a scene of future woes?
> That blest in exile you escape the sight
> Of armies bleeding in domestic fight?
> Behold each river drags her tardy flood,
> Choked up with carnage and distained with blood;
> Your victor-sire with pitying eyes survey,
> Nor envy him the fortune of the day.
> How shall he enter Rome devoid of shame,
> Who on the public ruins builds his name?

Who can bear to hear the poet philosophizing in this ridiculous manner? As if Pompey, a man in years, an exile, miserable, and vanquished, should have any concern upon him for the crimes of his conqueror: he ought to have been very much stoicized indeed, who, despoiled of all the goods of fortune, could place the sum of

tute poneret felicitatem. Sed nullus poetarum, nisi Virgilius, hujusmodi afficiat dolore: alii plerunque, dum mœrorem aliquem lectoribus inducerent, in illo peccant, quod nimia prolixitate sese in questus effundant, nec unquam satis lachrymarum exhaustum esse sentiant, vel ingenium, quod maxime possint, versibus infundendo, faciunt, ut magis carmina miremur, quam materiam lugeamus. De utroque cavit Virgilius, qui merâ semper simplicitate luctuosa, ut in se sunt, exhibuit; et leviter quicquid dolet perstrinxerat: "Lamentationes enim," inquit Cicero, "debent esse breves et concisæ, quia lachryma subito exarescit, et difficile est auditorem aut lectorem in summo illo animi affectu tenere."

Ut vero ad Statium redeamus, illi quidem spiritus non raro feliciter assurgit, cui dum temperare nequit, nescio quas projicit ampullas, et vana carminibus addit numerorum terriculamenta. Thebaidis quidem argumentum ingenii sui truculentiæ, sed non heroico poemati satis aptum videatur. Eteocles enim, Polynices et Tydeus, quorum gesta hoc carmine celebrantur, nihil habent eorum, si unicam fortitudinem demas, quæ conveniunt heroibus: imo, in toto poemate, nulla nisi scelerum,

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his felicity in mere naked virtue. But none of the poets have touched this passion of grief like Virgil. The generality of other writers, when they attempt to move their readers, offend in this point, that they are too prolix in spinning out their complaints, and think their flood of tears inexhaustible; or else, while they labour to express the greatness of their genius, in the profuseness of their verse, rather raise our admiration at the flowing of their numbers, than excite our pity in the catastrophe of their story. Virgil has carefully avoided both these extremes, and dresses his images of sorrow in their native simplicity; and wherever he touches upon the pathetic, he does it with a masterly quickness: for, according to Cicero, "Our expressions of grief ought to be short and concise, because our tears quickly dry up, and it is unnatural to detain either an auditor or reader in too long a suspension of grief."

But to return to Statius, his spirit is indeed lofty and aspiring, to which, while he gives too great a loose, he runs into bombast, and to his poetry often adds useless sounding words. The subject, of his Thebais seems indeed suited to the barbarity of his genius, but is beneath the dignity of an heroic poem. For neither Eteocles, Polynices, nor Tydeus, whose actions are recorded in this poem, have anything in them except their fortitude, agreeable to heroes: nay, throughout the whole piece, there are no examples produced, unless of persons infamous for the most flagitious enor-

qualia sunt parricidii, perfidiæ, immanitatis, odiorum, proferuntur exemplaria; dum in omnibus fere, quos suo carmine induxit Virgilius, præclara quædam illucescunt, et in ipso Ænea summam pietatem erga deos, natum, conjugem, amicos, et parentem, oculis semper habemus subjectam. Epitheta plerunque Statiana multum sonant metaphorice, dum inanimatis illa tribuuntur, quæ animalibus conveniunt. In verbis tamen, nec raro sine maximâ elegantiâ, metaphoras confectatur Claudianus; Virgilius in utrisque parcissimus; Statius plurimas rerum similitudines composuit, multum sæpe de Virgilii ingenio referentes, in quâ arte melius successerat Lucanus, si aliquid unquam mediocre admiserat; sed dum Virgilius ad apes, ad formicas, et istiusmodi naturæ ludicra descendit, nihil unquam nisi quercum fulminatam, terræ exitium, aut mundi conflagrationem ebuccinat Lucanus. Et hisce tandem, quorum alii non operæ pretium duxerunt meminisse, de heroicis scriptoribus breviter perstrictis.

De satyricis restat dicendum; quorum omnium Juvenalis et Horatius palmam dubiam quidem fecerunt: inter literatos enim multum discrepat, utrum mordax illa ingenii acerbitas, quâ suam armavit paginam Juvenalis, an potius Horatii festivæ

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mities, such as parricide, treachery, cruelty, and revenge; while, on the contrary, everything praiseworthy shines bright in Virgil's heroes; and in the person of Æneas we have placed before our eyes an instance of consummate piety towards the gods, his son, his wife, his friends, and his father. The epithets of Statius are generally forced and very metaphorical, while such properties are ascribed to inanimates, as really only belong to animals. In the choice of his words, and frequently in his metaphors, he is followed by Claudian with the utmost elegance. Virgil is sparing in both these particulars; Statius abounds much with similitudes, in which he seems to imitate Virgil; but in this instance Lucan had had better success, if he had hit upon the proper medium; but while Virgil stoops down to the humble subjects of bees, ants, and other such like delightful themes of nature; on the other hand, Lucan bellows out nothing but stories of oaks split by lightning, earthquakes, and the world's conflagration. Let this, in short, suffice, observable, concerning the writers of heroic poetry, in itself new, and never before taken notice of.

Something now remains to be said of the satirists, among whom whether Juvenal or Horace have most right to the bays, it is difficult to determine; for it has been long a dispute among the learned whether that keenness and bitterness of expression with which Ju-

irrisiones, magis satyræ conveniant. Ut vero de utroque rectius statuatur, pauca prius sunt advertenda. Ob infamem vitæ suæ lasciviam, etiam nunc temporis, male audit Horatius; virtutem tamen semper rigide coluit Juvenalis. Ille in absolutissimâ Augusti aulâ versatus est, hic in pessima Domitiani tempora incidisset: proinde, ut ad sua et sæculi utriusque ingenia opera accommodarent poetæ, Horatius totus in ludicro exercetur argumento, nec morum licentiam, sed indecoras quasdam aulicorum ineptias plerunque infectatur; non ideo abfuisset quin irrideretur, si, aliqua styli severitate, ad leviuscula hujusmodi castiganda se accinxisset; gravissima tamen in temporibus suis reprehendit Juvenalis, et de vitiis ubique queritur, quæ vel pudeat recitare, et isti sane materiæ, summa mentis indignatio, orationis ardor, et ingenii acrimonia, rectissime aptari videantur. Quamvis ubi ad jocularia animum demittit, non raro satyris festivitatem fundit Horatianam. Uterque ideo (modo diversum consulas argumentum) suo quidem genere perfectissimus emicuit; in illo ridiculum acri melius, in hoc acre ridiculo.

Reliqua certe Horatii opera, admiratione potius sunt digna quam encomiis, nec majora solum vituperatione sed etiam laude.

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venal has armed his Satires, or Horace's more jocose lampoons, are most conformable to the end of satire. Now, that we may give a clearer decision on this head, a few things must be premised. Horace bears, to this day, an ill character for the looseness of his conduct in life. Juvenal was a rigid practiser of virtue. The one was conversant in the most perfectly polite court of Augustus; the other lived in the worst of Domitian's time; and therefore both these poets accommodated their writings to the manners of their respective ages. Horace is entirely upon the ludicrous, and pursues not so much the licentiousness of the times as the ridiculous fopperies of some particular courtiers; for had he attempted to correct these trifles with severity, he would not have failed to be laughed at: but Juvenal lashes the grossest crimes prevalent in his time, and complains of enormities which one would be ashamed to mention; and nothing less than the highest resentment of soul, ardency of expression, and sharpness of speech, could be an equal match to crimes so notorious; though whenever he descends to be jocose, we frequently meet with the pleasantry of Horace. Both of them, allowing for the different manner of their writing, are perfect masters in their several ways; in the one, the ridicule appears better than the severe, in the other, the severe better than the ridicule.

The rest of Horace's pieces are so admirable, that they exceed

Jam vero, quod ad dramaticos attinet, Plauti et Terentii argumenta, sales, elegantiæ ubique adeo vulgantur, ut nihil de novo possit adjici.

De Seneca vero tam diverse sentiunt, ut alii inter summos tragicorum, alii infra infimum annumerent. Illi quidem ingenium valde magnum, oratio elegans et concisa, abundat sententiis plerunque acutis, stoicam semper philosophiam quam amplexus est, redolentibus. Unde omnibus fere, qui artem dramaticam parum sapiunt, semper est in deliciis; si tamen ad hanc respicias, tragœdiæ ubique plurimum laborant, et istud vitii (ut reliqua prætermittam) Senecæ peculiare videatur, ut quoscunque inducat interlocutores, nullâ ad personas quas sustinet habitâ ratione, eundem semper unicuique tribuat loquendi modum: omnes severiora spirant philosophiæ dogmata, et quæ stoæ magis conveniant quam theatro. Eâdem semper styli magnificentiâ superbiunt rex et nuncius: imo ipsam nutricem (plurima enim tam acute profert) stoicorum præceptis non mediocriter imbutam sentias.

Inter epigrammatistas potissimum emicuerunt Martialis et Claudianus. Ille semper, in extremo poemate, ingenii subjecit acumen, et sæpe similia insequitur verborum tintinna-

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our highest encomium, and are not only beyond our dislike, but above our praise.

As to what concerns the dramatic poets, Plautus and Terence bear away the bell, whose plots, turns, and elegance of style, are so well known, that nothing new can be said upon them.

As to Seneca, mankind have entertained different opinions of him; some have ranked him with the best tragedians, others have sunk him below the worst. He certainly had a great genius, an elegant and concise way of expression; he abounds with smart turns, which always savour much of that stoicism of which he was a follower, upon which account he has always been esteemed by those who have had little or no taste of dramatic poetry; but then if we consider him as such, his tragedies are throughout too elaborate. And this, to pass by his other faults, seems peculiarly Seneca's, that he makes all his actors (without any regard to the characters they bear) talk in the same strain; all of them inculcate rigid philosophical dogmas, and such morality as is rather fit for the schools of the stoics than the Roman theatre: for with him the king and the slave strut in the same buskin; nay, you may perceive the nurse herself deeply tinged with the principles of stoicism.

Among the Epigrammatists Martial and Claudian have borne the greatest reputation; the first, for the severe point in the close of

bula; hic, per totum epigramma, suum dispergit salem; et venustissimâ ubique utitur latinitatis elegantiâ.

Cæterum tamen poetarum vulgus, de istiusmodi mediocribus sunt, quos nec Dii nec homines concesserunt; et quamvis una aut altera apud affectatas Catulli cantatiunculas, Tibulli aut Propertii inhonestam paginam, et carmina incuriosa, illucescat virtus, non tamen est operæ pretium gemmas inter stercora eruere.

TRANSLATION.

his epigrams, and the peculiar jingle of his words. The other, for dispersing the poignancy of his wit throughout his epigrams, and that in the most beautiful Latin phrase.

The rest of the lower class of the Latin poets creep so low in their numbers that they are beneath the notice either of gods or men. And though we may now and then discover in the affected songs and sonnets of Catullus, and the obscene poetry of Tibullus and Propertius, some not disagreeable pieces, yet it is not worth our while to rake the dunghills for the sake of the jewels.

CONTINUATION OF

ADDISON'S DISSERTATION ON THE ROMAN POETS,

BY MAJOR PACK.

TENTAMEN DE POETIS ROMANIS ELEGIACIS.

SÆPE mecum ipse mirari soleo, ex tot tantisque viris in antiqua Classicorum Poetarum pagina transferenda vel operose vel commode jucundeque versatis, tam paucos extitisse, qui Elegiarum Scriptores vel dignos opera sua judicaverint, vel quidem suo otio dignos. Haud ego quidem possum credere, quin hi in propria scribendi norma perinde feliciter successerint, atque alii; ac proinde cum non minori emolumento quam cum voluptate legantur. Ad me quod attinet,

ESSAY ON THE ROMAN ELEGIAC POETS.[1]

I HAVE often wondered, that among so many who have busied or diverted themselves in translating the ancient classic poets so few have thought the writers of elegy worthy their pains or amusement. I cannot but believe that these have succeeded as happily in their way as the others, and that they may be read with no less

[1] It would seem that Major Pack wrote this Essay in *English*, and the *Latin* translation was made for Curll by R. Young, *Armiger*. See his Tentamen de Scriptis Addisonianis, page 51.

affirmare possum eam fuisse semper animi temperationem mei, ut eandem vel casui proterve fortuito, vel difficultati rerum procaciter obliquæ stomachantem, longe facilius lenire me, atque mulcere potuisse senserim, dulcem optando comitem Tibullum, quam vel philosophorum lectiones vel præcepta theologorum consulendo. Quicquid enim solenne valde, id omne aliquam, nescio quam, prohibitoriam coactionis faciem præ se ferre atque ostentare videtur. Adeoque est pæne semper inauspicata aut discentis cujuslibet aut docentis indoles, ut ex quovis severioris disciplinæ genere, nostræ potius pœna voluntatis, quam mentis emendatio nascatur. Verbis enim ita strenue contendere, ut munus esse rectæ rationis, hoc vel illud agere, mens hominum convicta fateatur, non est res duri plena negotii; at vero ad illud idem munus obeundum aliquem fortiter et suaviter impellere, hic est plane operosus flexanimæ orationis labor, hoc summum artis mysterium. Digna quidem hæc Horatii sententia, quæ alta mente reposta maneat.

> Virtus est vitium fugere, et sapientia prima
> Stultitia caruisse.—*Horat.*

Annon eodem prorsus jure dicere, e voluntaria quadam ærumnarum oblivione primum surgere ad felicitatem gradum. Quem quidem si assequi optume vclumus, non debere nos cogitabundam nimis solicitamque illam, quæ nobis est insita, particulam exsuscitare, tumultuantes autem rerum ideas mulcere et motos animi fluctus componere, multo magis oportere confido.

Donec nostra hujusmodi corpuscula, misera illa quidem et vacil-

TRANSLATION.

advantage than pleasure. For my own part I can affirm, that when at any time my mind hath been ruffled by some peevish accident or disappointment, I have always found my temper sooner composed by taking a turn with Tibullus in my hand than by having recourse to the lessons of philosophy, or the precepts of divines. Whatever is very solemn carrieth with it, I don't know how, somewhat of constraint: and it frequently happens by an unlucky disposition either in the pupil or the preacher, that those severer kinds of discipline (I speak not this with the least irreverence) serve rather to punish than reform us. It is perhaps no difficult matter to convince one of the reasonableness of this or that action, but the secret lies in engaging one in the practice. It is a memorable sentence of a celebrated moralist, this, "It is the beginning of virtue to depart from vice; and the first step towards wisdom is to forsake our folly." May it not as justly be said, the first step towards happiness is to forget our misery? The best method to bring that about is not, I presume, by alarming the thinking faculty, but by soothing and lulling to rest our too active and unquiet reflections.

Whilst our poor tottering bark continues in this uncertain voy-

lantia navigiola, incertum hujus vitæ cursum tenent, et in prope medium usque oceanum immani et feroci ventorum vi pelluntur, longe ab aspectu litoris hospitibus mansueti, certo certius est navigantes in illis nostras animas gaudia magna intus oborientia sentire, quando ab ingruenti extrinsecus procella ipsæ sese quasi furtim retrahentes, et lævatius affectantes iter, leniter natant [super] voluptatis aquas, placidoque fruuntur passionis aura, secando (ut ita dicam) temeritatis flumini conjuncta.

Occulta quædam inest carminibus incantatio, quæ nunquam non solet bene formatum pectus grata dulcedine afficere; atque ego quidem opinor in probæ illius atque ingenuæ classis poetarum, Catulli nempe, Tibulli, Propertii, et Ovidii versibus, aliquid nescio quid singulare atque valde patheticum existere. Certum est, inter illa elegiaci ordinis carmina, Catulli perpauca esse apte judicatoque numeranda. At quandocunque teneriora humanitatis argumenta tractat, Minervæ suavem afflant odorem sententiæ omnes, proprietatem vel accuratissimam sapiunt, summamque redolent elegantiæ amænitatem. Ac proinde nihil aliud agere potui, quam ut insigne ipsius nomen in sociorum eadem studiorum ratione valentium numerum referrem. Eminebant hi quatuor in patria sua, clari natalibus, et (ut tum erant tempora) re plusquam mediocri fruebantur. Ad voluptatem traxit sua quemque indoles; singuli vero, recta usi ratione, eo sapientiæ processerunt, ut et publici gravitatem negotii et caducam prorsus elati fastus incertique honoris exploraverint inanitatem. Tres priores jure merito dicantur Triumviratum perinde illustrem constituisse, atque ulla unquam protulit ætas; siquidem vivendi modum splendide

TRANSLATION.

age of life, and is so often kept out at sea in rough and stormy weather, far from the sight of any hospitable shore, the soul, its passenger, cannot sure but feel a mighty satisfaction arising within, when she finds herself afterwards stealing, as it were, away under smoother courses, and borne gently down the tide of tenderness in soft and easy gales of passion.

There is a charm in verse that never fails agreeably to affect a heart that is rightly placed: and there is, in my opinion, something peculiarly moving in the verses of that good-natured class of poets, Catullus, Tibullus, Propertius, and Ovid. There are but few pieces of Catullus, it is true, that can strictly be ranked among those of the elegiac order: but, whenever he doth touch upon the softer subjects of humanity, his sentiments have the utmost propriety and delicacy; and therefore I could not but mention him among his companions. They were, all four, men of family and condition in their country. Their inclination led them naturally to pleasure, and their good sense to a discovery of the knavery of business, and the vanity of ambition. The three former may be said to have been as extraordinary a triumvirate as, perhaps, any age hath produced, I mean in an idle way of life; polite in their

otiosum spectemus. Perpolitis ornati moribus, rerum copia affluentes, bene succedentes in amoribus, summa cum familiaritate sibi invicem beate conjuncti, quamdiu vixerunt, tamdiu usque viguere humani generis deliciæ; et tandem cum a vivorum regionibus discesserunt, eas utique omnes lugentes reliquerunt. Quantum ad Ovidium attinet, erat ille quidem omnibus illis apprime ornatus et morum et ingenii dotibus, quæ ad absolute fingendum hominem plane generosum conducere posse videantur. Quippe iratus illi Augustus, vel quod insperato istius Imperatoris occultæ lasciviæ testis aderat fortuitus, vel quod proprios amores (ut illi speciose vertebatur crimini) impudice nimis describebat, eundem annum habentem quinquagesimum ex Italia in exilium mittebat. Exul reliquum miseræ vitæ tempus languide consumens, inter Sauromatas in civitate, (cui nomen recens *Temeswær*, uti putant nonnulli,) extremum obiit annum. Hujusmodi supplicii exempla non nisi bina in omnibus historiarum monumentis esse credo reperienda, ubi quod est punitum, illud inconsiderate atque temere factum vocare possumus; alterum Ovidii personæ sorte contigit, Rabutini alterum. Horum quidem principes pari certe illoque supremo dominandi jure gaudebant, sapientia fruebantur pari, paribus suspicionibus angebantur.

Hæc geniorum, quibus hi erant prædíti, perexigua sane delineatio nos abunde doceat recte judicare quantum scientiæ lumen, quamque dulce et elegans emolumentum, compositissima, quæque horum poetarum themata mentibus afferant bene atque nitide præparatis. Ac revera, quam in amicitia fidem inviolatam, quos teneros in amore impulsus, quam in propinquos benevolentiam assiduam, quæ tandem omnium virtutum moralium monumenta intuemur! Quæ videmus exemplaria? Quæ, quæso, utique non videmus? Ut mille ingenii ornamenta omittam, ut præteream miram illam dulcedinem et felices

TRANSLATION.

manners; easy in their fortunes; successful in their amours; happy in each others' acquaintance; beloved, in general, while they lived; and universally lamented, when they died. As for Ovid, he was certainly master of all the fine qualities and accomplishments that could be desired in a gentleman. But having offended Augustus, either by being an unexpected witness of that emperor's love-intrigues, or else by too lasciviously describing his own, (which was the crime pretended,) he was banished from Italy in his fiftieth year, and languished out the remainder of his days at Tamos (the modern Temeswaer, as some think). There are, I believe, but two instances in story of punishment like this, for what, at the worst, could be called only an indiscretion; one in the person of Ovid, the other in that of Rabutin. Their masters were equally absolute, equally wise, and equally jealous.

From this little draught of their characters, one may judge how edifying any of their compositions must needs be to an elegant understanding. And, indeed, what sincerity in friendship, what fond-

musicæ numeros poeticæ temere cadentes, ut taceam denique genuinas illas et quasi jam modo spirantes vitæ imagines, quæ quidem efficiunt, ut vix prima facie opinemur scenam earundem in sæculo perinde remoto fuisse repræsentatam, atque nobiscum magis ipsi cogitantes sentimus.

Una porro objectio non est silentio prætereunda; quippe crimini in universo pene orbe Christiano ducitur hisce poetis, nimiam in inhonestis rerum ideis excogitandis licentiam nimiamque in eisdem exprimendis obscœnitatem affectasse.

Sed tamen est certum quid respondeam. Se quando parva blanditiarum suarum quasi stratagemata explicantes, tali verborum usi sunt delectu, qualem religiosa dedignaretur morum simplicitas, ortam inde tamen vitiosam oblectationem omnem non singulari cuidam turpitudini ab his unice affectatæ, sed communi potissimum atque effrænatæ illius, in qua viguere, ætatis licentiæ attribuere nos debere contendo. Siquidem ejusdem reum criminis agimus Horatium; habere certe debemus confitentem reum. Porro autem ipse Virgilius, cujus ad cœlos tollitur modestia, multa in Bucolicis scripsit, quæ apud nos lasciva atque ab honestate remota ponuntur. Ne plura—totum argumentum hæc unica consideratio determinat. Qui animum bonis et intaminatis vitæ institutis retinet imbutum, ille cum hisce authoribus facillime versari poterit, omnis expers periculi contagionis. Atque quantum ad eos spectat, quorum improbitas superat ingenium, (execrabilius autem accidere fatuo nihil potest) illi proprii, et insensati quidem vitii tempestate abrepti, aras focosque et res omnes quam maxime sacras, nequissimi cujusque facinoris perpetrandi gratia, pro-

TRANSLATION.

ness in love, what kindness to relations, what instances of all the social virtues do we not meet with in their writings! Not to mention a thousand ornaments of wit, a wonderful sweetness, and easy cadence in their numbers, and so true a picture of life, that one can scarce fancy the scene to lie at the distance it is placed.

There is one objection which I must not pass over, and that is generally charged upon these poets; I mean, their too great licence and obscenity in their ideas and language.

To this I would reply, that if upon some occasions they seem not to have been very scrupulous about the terms they made use of in communicating their amorous adventures, it ought not to be imputed to a scandalous singularity in them, but to the common indulgence of the age in which they flourished. Horace must plead guilty to the same indictment. Nay, Virgil himself, as applauded as he is for modesty, has left many expressions in his Eclogues that might be argued of wantonness. After all, the whole matter will turn upon this single point. A person whose principles are uncorrupted may freely converse with these authors without danger of infection: and for such who have more wickedness than wit, (the greatest curse that can befall a fool,) their senseless vice will

sternunt. At quandoquidem omnia horum poetarum carmina, uti erant primitus et Latine scripta, tuto et sine labe legi queant; singula tamen, salva morum pietate, Anglice reddi posse minime contendo. Sed quum multa possint, dolendum videtur linguam Anglicanam non perfrui pluribus quippe quæ ditiorem redderent sermonem nostrum, atque pleniorem dulcium varietate imaginum, quæ æque sunt innocuæ, atque sunt suaves.

Qui vero hujusce operis provinciam in se susceperint, illi profecto desudabunt, cum novos passim invenient labores ex crebris clausulis ad ritualem religionis cultum et superstitiosa quælibet dogmata alte respicientibus oriundos. Hisce exemplis abundant ea Carmina, in quibus reperitur maxima vis libidinis; nempe lasciviæ lenocinari superstitio jugiter solet. Quantum autem ad illa attinet, quæ non indecora tralatione digna sunt, ea quidem omnia, paucis illustrata commentariis, non solum erunt intellectu facilia, verum etiam lectoribus mere Anglicanis magnam afferent voluptatem.

TRANSLATION.

tempt them to pervert even the most sacred things to the vilest purposes. However, though all their poems may be read in the originals with safety, I do not pretend to say they can all be translated with decency. But since many of them may, it is pity, I think, we have not more of them in English, to enrich our language with a variety of pleasing images that are as innocent as they are delightful.

There is one difficulty that will still lie upon the hands of any who shall undertake this work, and this ariseth from their frequent allusions to the ceremonies and notions of their religion. Instances of this abound even in those copies of their verses that are writ the most in the spirit of lewdness (as superstition hath ever been an especial bawd to lust). But for all such as are proper to be translated, they may be rendered by a few explanatory notes not only intelligible, but very entertaining to a mere English reader.

IN LAUDEM DOMINI PARKERI.[1]

QUANDOQUIDEM ad boni principis officium nihil magis pertinet, quàm ut amplissimas reipublicæ dignitates viris de

PREAMBLE TO LORD PARKER'S PATENT.

As it is the duty of a good prince to confer the highest dignities of the state upon those who have done the most eminent services

[1] In Mr. Hughes's correspondence (vol. ii. p. 79) will be found a very courteous and complimentary letter to Lord Chancellor Parker, for-

patria optumè merentibus impertiatur, prædilectum et perquamfidelem consiliarium nostrum Thomam Parkerum militem, et capitalem in banco regio justiciarium, procerum nostrorum numero adscribi volumus, qui in honorum fuga, pari studio usus est, quo plures, in eorum petitione, uti solent; nec, ulla sua opera titulos sibi acquisivit, nisi quòd illos meruerit.

Egregiam hanc optimi civis modestiam efflagitatione nostra vincendam duximus, nè ab arduis curiæ patriciæ negotiis diutiùs se retraheret, malo publico verecundus.

Præclaræ, quibus fruitur, animi dotes, et omnimodo tum rerum tum scientiarum peritia, quæ, ut vitam in otio elegantèr et jucundè agere et posset et mallet, effecere, quo minùs ita ageret, dudum impedierunt.

Summam in senatu, summam in foro laudem sibi comparavit.

Gravissimo seni Johanni Holt militi, capitali in banco regio justiciario, successor constitutus est, utpote qui tanti muneris dignitatem ritè sustineret, tanti viri levaret desiderium.

Ibi, difficillimis temporibus, cum jus nostrum in regni hu-

TRANSLATION.

to their country, We have determined to advance to the degree of peerage our well-beloved and faithful counsellor, Sir Thomas Parker, knight, Chief Justice of the King's Bench; who has hitherto as industriously declined honours as others are wont to solicit them; and has had no part in the acquisition of a title, but deserving it.

This modesty of so good a subject, however commendable in itself, We have thought fit to over-rule by Our express commands, that it should no longer withhold him from the important services of the House of Peers, nor continue to be indulged to the prejudice of the public.

His eminent endowments of mind, with his extensive knowledge and learning, which have put it in his power and in his wishes to pass his time in the pleasures of an elegant and retired life, have been the very means which have hindered his doing so.

After having arrived at the highest reputation of a lawyer and senator, he was, upon the death of that valuable person Sir John Holt, appointed Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench, as one fully qualified to support the dignity of so weighty a charge, and to alleviate the loss of so great a man.

In that station, at a juncture when Our succession to this Crown was most endangered, he promoted the cause of Our family, and

warding a copy of his "Ode to the Creator of the World," which he says was published by Tonson, 1713, at the particular instance of Mr. Addison, "for whose judgment I know your Lordship has a very just esteem."

jusce successionem periclitaretur, domus nostræ adeòque populi Brittannici causam strenuè promovit, majori fortitudine an justitia incertum; cavitque nè impunè leges partibus nostris faventes impugnarent mali, neu cum periculo boni vindicarent.

Nec majorem officii auctoritate in negotiis publicis reverentiam, quàm morum suavitate in quotidiana vitæ consuetudine omnium sibi gratiam conciliavit: fælix meritò habendus, cui ista contigerit animi æquabilitas, quæ sicuti civem maxumè exornat, ita in primis commendat judicem.

Neque ea quæ inter mortalium laudes præcipuum locum obtinet, et quæ illum sibi nobisque paritèr reddit acceptiorem silentio prætereunda est, sincera erga Deum pietas, singulari erga homines benevolentiæ conjuncta.

Hunc talem virum, ut litibus intersit supremo foro dirimendis judex integerrimus; ac in legibus ferendis eodem loco versetur, quo in explicandis sæpe sibi gloriam adeptus est; optimatum nostrorum ordini admovendum curavimus.

TRANSLATION.

therein of the British nation, with equal justice and fortitude; and took effectual care that it should not be safe for ill men to attack those laws which were made in Our behalf, nor dangerous for good men to defend them.

If he has made himself venerable by the authority of his office in public affairs, he has made himself no less amiable by the sweetness of his behaviour in all the ordinary and familiar intercourses of life; being blessed with that evenness of temper, which, as it adorns the private man, so in a peculiar manner it recommends the judge.

Nor must we omit that which is the greatest of all human praises, and which renders him more acceptable both to himself and Us, a sincere piety towards God, joined with an exemplary benevolence towards men.

A person of this character, We have thought fit to make a Peer of Our Realm; that a Judge, who has so long acted with the greatest integrity, may have a voice in that Court which is the last resource of justice, and share in the making of laws where he has so often gained himself a reputation in the explaining of them.

ORATIO.

NOVA PHILOSOPHIA VETERI PRÆFERENDA EST.[1]

QUOUSQUE veterum vestigiis serviliter insistemus, Academici, nec ultra patres sapere audebimus! Quousque antiquitatis ineptias, ut senum deliria nonnulli solent, religiose venerabimur? Pudeat sane, dum tam præclarum ætatis hujusce specimen coram oculis præsens intuemur, ad antiquos encomia nostra transferre, et inter priora sæcula quos celebremus sedulo investigare.

Satis superque veteri Philosophiæ concessum est, quod *Stagyritæ* laudibus theatrum toties sonuit *Sheldonianum*, quod ille vel Alexandro suo major in scholarum rostris tam

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AN ORATION, IN DEFENCE OF THE NEW PHILOSOPHY.[2]

SPOKEN IN THE THEATRE AT OXFORD, JULY 7, 1693,

BY MR. ADDISON.

Translated from the Latin by Richard Rawlinson, LL. D. and F. R. S. of St. John's Coll. Oxon.

How long, gentlemen of the University, shall we slavishly tread in the steps of the ancients, and be afraid of being wiser than our ancestors? How long shall we religiously worship the triflings of antiquity, as some do old wives' stories? It is indeed shameful, when we survey the great ornament of the present age,[3] to transfer our applauses to the ancients, and to take pains to search into ages past for persons deserving of panegyric.

The ancient philosophy has had more allowed than it could reasonably pretend to; how often has Sheldon's theatre rung with Encomia on the Stagyrite, who, greater than his own Alexander, has long, unopposed, triumphed in our school-desks, and had the whole world for his pupils. At length

[1] Vid. Theatri Oxoniensis Encænia, sive Comitia Philologica, Julii 7, 1693, celebrata.

[2] This Oration, as well as Dr. Rawlinson's translation, was first printed by *Curll* in Lit. Cor. vol. iv. 1736, then by *Cogan* in Addison's Miscellaneous Works, 1750, and lastly, as far as we know, at the end of an edition of Fontenelle's Plurality of Worlds, Lond. 1757. Sir David Brewster quotes it at large in his recent Life of Sir Isaac Newton, vol. i. p. 334.

[3] Newton.

diu impune triumphavit, et totum mundum habuit discipulum. Fæliciori tandem ingenio succedit *Cartesius*, qui contra omnes omnium oppugnantium vires veritatem pertinaciter asservit, et novum hoc introduxit philosophandi genus; si vero Philosophiæ isti novitatis nomen tribuendum sit, quæ, quanquam jam primum innotuerit, vel Peripateticam antiquitate superat, et ipsi materiæ a quâ derivatur, existit coætanea. Illustris ille vir, quem unum *Galliæ* invidemus, proinde omnia explicuit, ac si ipse totius mundi olim fuisset architectus. Diffregit ille vitreos istos cœlorum orbes, quos veterum insomnia compegere, ex materiæ catibulis ignotam eruit formarum turbam et elementum ignis penitus extinxit, uno totam tam dilucide depinxit rerum universitatem ut nulla jam qualitas relicta sit occulta. Inter mundi *Aristotelici* angustias et mœnia crystallina diutius coarctari dedignatur Philosophus, juvat undique superiores cœlorum tractus explorare, novosque soles, et mundos inter sydera latentes detegere; juvat immensas hasce ætheris plagas orbibus erraticis passim interspersas, terrasque per viam lacteam undequaque disjacentes intueri, et machinæ totius molem rectius

TRANSLATION.

arose Cartesius, a happier genius, who has bravely asserted the truth against the united force of all opposers, and has brought on the stage a new method of philosophizing. But shall we stigmatize with the name of novelty that philosophy, which, though but lately revived, is more ancient than the Peripatetic, and as old as the matter from whence it is derived? A great man indeed he was, and the only one we envy France.[1] He solved the difficulties of the universe, almost as well as if he had been its architect. He destroyed those orbs of glass which the whims of antiquity had fixed above, brought to light that troop of forms till then unknown, and has almost extinguished the element of fire; nay, he with so much clearness traced out the whole mass of matter, as to leave no occult quality untouched. This philosopher scorned to be any longer bounded within the straits and crystalline walls of an Aristotelic world; no, his delight is to search the regions above, to discover new suns, and new worlds, which lay hid among the stars; his satisfaction is to view that large kingdom of air amidst the unfixed stars, and

[1] Descartes.

metiri, machinæ jam tandem dignæ, ubi Philosophorum animi expatientur, Deo dignæ opifice.

Nec solum in cœlis orbes novos, sed si in tellurem despiciatur, diversa animantium genera hodierna patefecit Philosophia, dum perspicilli ope oculorum acies intenditur, et obvios se produnt minutissimarum rerum partus, dum curioso intuiter animatas conspicimus materiæ particulas, et reptiles miramur atomorum viventium acervos: Usque adeo vel oculi acriores fiunt Neotericorum artibus, et opus, quod unum ex omnibus optimum voluit natura, emendatur et perficiatur. Non jam barbaras Peripateticorum voces et obscuriores scholarum terminos tanquam oraculi ambages inepte veneramur, sed ipsa sensuum dictamina consulimus, et machinis nuper inventis tormentum quoddam naturæ admovemus quibus cogitur arcana sua abditissimasque vires palam confiteri.

His adjuti instrumentis etiam ætherem, quem omnibus indulsit naturæ benignitas, nos potentiori arte quoties libet animalibus negamus, Pneumaticoque carceri inclusis, commune auræ ætheriæ consortium interdicimus: Ut juvat irritos

TRANSLATION.

lands that pass the milky way, and more accurately measure this vast machine, a machine fit for mankind to philosophize on, and worthy of the deity who first framed it.

Here we have not only new heavens opened to us, but we look down on our earth; this philosophy affords us several kinds of animals; where, by the help of the microscope, our eyes are so far assisted, that we may discern the productions of the smallest creatures while we consider with a curious eye the animated particles of matter, and behold with astonishment the reptile mountains of living atoms. Thus are our eyes become more penetrating by modern helps, and even that work which nature boasts for her masterpiece is rendered more correct and finished. We no longer pay a blind veneration to that barbarous Peripatetic jingle, those obscure scholastic terms of art, once held as oracles; but consult the dictates of our own senses, and by late invented engines force nature herself to discover plainly her most hidden recesses.

By the help of instruments like these, that air, which a bountiful nature has indulged us, we, as often as we please, by the force of art abridge other animals of, and keep them in our pneumatic pumps from its common benefit. What a

pulmonum conatus intueri, vitam exhaurire, et spiritum ipsum ingenioso quodam furto surripere! Ubi nihil adeo tutum est, adeo animæ suæ tenax, quod non paulatim effrigescat, et nullo accepto vulnere concidat cadaver. Divinum hoc quidem artis opus, et autore suo non indignum, qui vitæ, moribus et argumentorum pondere gentem nostram et novam tam eximie cohonestavit Philosophiam, qui hinc certe meruit ut aeris sui beneficio nunquam destitueretur, et qui cætera animalia toties vita spoliavit, suam nunquam exhalaret.

Non hisce quidem auxiliis innixus, suam contexuit Philosophiam *Aristoteles*, qui omnes ex seipso eruit artium et scientiarum regulas, et nihil intactum, nihil illibatum reliquit præter ipsam veritatem; si ideo in *Euripum*, quoniam illius naturam non satis habuit exploratam, sese præcipitem immerserit, eadem quidem ratione adduci potuit, ut in ipso Philosophiæ suæ limine mortem sibi consciscceret, et optimo quidem jure dubitare liceat in quo elemento præter cætera potuis debuerit periisse. Quin ubi inter *Euripi* fluctus

TRANSLATION.

pleasure is it to see the fruitless heavings of the lights, to exhaust their lives, and by a most artful sort of theft rob them of their breath! From this nothing is safe, nothing so long lived, which gradually does not languish, and fall dead without a wound. A divine piece of art this, and worthy its author,[1] who, in the conduct of his life, and the force of his arguments, has so nobly honoured our nation, and the new philosophy,—one who for this reason too deserves never to want the benefit of his own air, or that he, who has so often deprived other animals of their life, should ever breathe out his own.

On no such grounds as these has Aristotle built his philosophy, who from his own brain furnished out all his rules of arts and sciences, and left nothing untouched on, nothing unregarded, but truth. If therefore he precipitated himself into the river Euripus, because he could not understand its ebb and flow, by the same logic he might at his first entrance on philosophy have destroyed himself; and we may fairly doubt in which of the elements he ought to have perished.

After Aristotle's fate amidst the waves of Euripus, a new

[1] Boyle.

actum est de *Aristotele*, nova tandem succrevit Peripateticorum progenies, vel parente pejor, quæ Philosophiam tanta verborum caligine involutam posteris reliquit, ut hoc solum obstet, quo minus omnium risu et dicteriis excipiatur, quoniam a paucissimis intelligitur. Inveniuntur autem qui inter has Commentariorum sarcinas, quibus hac blateronum soboles mundum oneravit operæ pretium ducunt ætatem terere, qui divinos hos literarum Thesauros volvunt denuo, revolvuntque nec unquam prodeunt, nec studiis se unquam abripiunt nisi ut ostendant quanto labore opus est ut erudiamur desipere: Num quod enim potest spectaculum pulchrius exhiberi, quam ut pugiles hujusmodi sagaces inter se digladiantes intueamur? Hic propositionibus et syllogismis armatus illum similiter armatum aggreditur: uterque vervex indignatur, pendet, avidus victoriæ, quæ non tantilli est, utri accenseatur, uterque (quod unum potest) in alterum Barbarissimos pro virili ejaculatur, irretiunt sese tandem ineptiis, et cum neuter videt quomodo se expediat, receptui conitur, et consumtis utrinque armis, utrinque visum est demum conticescere.

Huc usque, Academici, nec ultra progreditur antiquorum .

TRANSLATION.

race of Peripatetics started up, even worse than their founder, who handed their philosophy to after ages in so thick an obscurity that it has preserved it from the satire and ridicule of all mankind, being understood by very few. Some there are to be found who spend their time amidst the rubbish which these commentators have filled the world with, and pore more than once on these godlike treasures of learning, and stick to them to no other purpose unless to show the world the vast pains they take to be deceived. Can there be a more pleasant sight than to see these wise champions wrangling with each other? The one armed with propositions and syllogisms attacks his antagonist in the same armour: both bell-wethers grow angry and storm, fond of a victory which is worth but a trifle when obtained: each, with all his might, darts out his barbarisms at the other, they entangle themselves in their follies, and as neither knows how to extricate himself they sound a retreat, and when all the ammunition is spent on both sides they think fit to keep silence.

Thus far, gentlemen, and no farther, launches out the

Philosophia, ineptam ideo hanc commentatorum turbam. Si bibliothecis et catenis in æternum damnemus alligandam, ubi vermium et tinearum fiant pabula, et ab omni lectorum inspectu liberi placide exolescant. JOSEPH ADDISON.

TRANSLATION.

ancient philosophy: let us therefore sentence for ever this troop of commentators, to be tied up in chains and libraries, food only for moths and worms, and there let them quietly grow old, free from the sight of any reader.

JOSEPH ADDISON.

ADDISON'S LATIN LETTER.

From the Gents. Mag. 1791, *vol.* lxi. *p.* 502.

MR. URBAN, Chester, June 13th, 1791.

Looking over some old papers, I found a copy of a poem which appears to have been published in the year 1724, entitled, "God, by the Rev. John Lloyd, M. A." The recommendations which accompany it are extravagant, though I do not see anything in the poetry which can justify them. If the author possessed the literary distinction he pretends to, some of your correspondents may perhaps inform me who he was, and whether there be authenticity in the credentials he appeals to. The title-page runs thus: "God, a Poem, revised and recommended by the late JOSEPH ADDISON, Esq., and wrote by the Rev. John Lloyd, M. A., &c. Author, also, of several of the Spectators." Upon the second page is the recommendation alluded to.

The late Joseph Addison's Letter, faithfully translated (as far as we thought proper) from the Latin original.

MR. LLOYD,

I have perused your poem, and cannot but mention it with a kind of divinity of attributes, and all the eulogies of a ravished imagination. Nay, I fall down and worship the graven image you have set up. God never before appeared so glorious in any work but his own. You speak home of the Majesty of Heaven, and with a magnificent emphasis. Sure your pen was plucked from some Seraph's wing, and dipt in the streams of everlasting day. Two sheets contain all the learning of two thousand years; and the united eloquence of Rome and Athens are now to be purchased for a sixpenny piece.

O Juvenis, cujus in laudibus idiomata sunt infacunda. Ex summorum virorum dotibus, ex puellarum votis compositus es;

æstuat hic calamus, ex læto liberoque motu ardet evagari. Sed ne confusim, et tanquam per satyram conturbet omnia abruptum et effræni gaudium, ab origine tua et incunabulis ipsis percurramus singula, ut inde quibus crevisti auxiliis, quibus adolevisti, et robur assumpsisti, (nimirum si Epistolam hanc nostram publici juris facturus es,) recolant posteri, prædicet eternitas, &c. Apage igitur frivolas istas et otiosas nænias, tanquam nutricularum fabulas aut Democritea commenta, quas spargi aiunt de te, nigra scurrarum convitia. Facili ariolari possum sine minatore Delio et Enigmatum conjectore quorsum hæc omnia; quicunque enim color obtenditur, intima pellucet causa; sed reprimam styli pertinaciam, ne in alienam videar inviolare messem;

Qui sum tui studiosissimus, JOSEPH ADDISON.

In the conclusion of his Poem the author thus characterizes himself.

From books and men a joyless wretch retired,
By no kind muse nor tender maid inspired;
Whom friends, pretending aid, have led astray,
To fools a proverb, and to knaves a prey.
Gay were the hours, and winged with mirth they flew,
When first the town my early genius knew;
Heir to eight hundred pounds a year at least;
In company the brightest and the best.
I formed my tender youth with studious art,
And learned what *Steele* or *Prior* could impart;
Prior, the merriest of all nurseful men,
And *Steele*, whose sword's not keener than his pen.
With *Addison*, the biggest word of Fame,
Who tuned my soul, and gave the world my name;
Against our modern fools and fashions rose,
And undertook to school the washy beaus,
Who from half-wits to soplings daily grow,
As maggots change to butterflies, you know.

The remaining lines, which I have not room to transcribe, are very much in the *penseroso* style. I have inquired about the author here, where his later residence seems to have been. But as Poetry then obscured him, so Time has now erased his memory from the minds of his fellow-citizens. J. B.

☞ As Addison edited the second volume of the *Musæ Anglicanæ, Oxon.* 1699, it is presumed that the short Latin preface which accompanies it was written by him, but there is no actual evidence. It was reprinted with additions in 1714, and as both editions are very common, it is not thought worth introducing here.

ARGUMENTS ABOUT THE ALTERATION OF TRIENNIAL ELECTIONS OF PARLIAMENT.

IN A LETTER TO A FRIEND IN THE COUNTRY.[1]

SIR,

Your last letter expresses your great concern and fears about the design now on foot for the alteration of the act for the frequent meeting and calling of parliaments in one particular, that is, the changing the term for elections of parliament from three to more years; and at the same time gives me an account of the several objections which make the greatest noise around you upon that subject. The same fears, and the same objections, I find to be very common, and very warmly propagated in all conversation here in town.

For myself, I acknowledge that it is with me in this case as it is in many others of importance; the first surprise gave me the like uneasiness to what you express. But I am very well satisfied, that the most likely way to cure that uneasiness is to debate the matter as friends; and to examine whether that surprise be the force of mere prejudice, or of good judgment. And for this I am very sure I am, in one respect, at least, well qualified, that as to my own private advantage, or interest, it is not of the least importance to me whether the parliament may, with the consent of the king, sit three years, or seven years, or twenty years. I have no designs nor views; no piques nor resentments, to incline me one way or other: and therefore if you will put yourself in the same posture of mind, if you please, enter upon this subject.

In all debates of this nature there are two principal points, which will comprehend under them all other particulars.

[1] This little known but interesting political essay was first printed in *Boyer's Political State*, April, 1716, where it is ascribed to Addison. It appears never to have been reprinted, till included in that scarce duodecimo volume, "Addison's Miscellaneous Works," *London, Cogan*, 1750, and as far as I can discover is to be found nowhere else. Attention has recently been drawn to it by James Crossley, Esq., of Manchester, in a very ingenious and convincing paper in Notes and Queries, vol. v. p. 577, to which the curious reader is referred.

The one is, whether the thing proposed be lawful, with regard to the nature of our constitution? The other is, whether it be expedient, or useful, to the good ends which ought always to be in the view of those who make laws?

The lawfulness of the thing cannot be denied by any persons, though never so great enemies to the doing it. Nor do I find, amongst all the topics employed against it, that anything of moment is urged against the right or authority of the supreme legislature to do it. It is no more a fundamental of our constitution that a new parliament must be summoned every three years than at any other interval. It is equally just, as far as right and authority are concerned, for the King, Lords, and Commons to fix it for one term, as for another. And if it were not out of their right to make that great alteration, which fixed it for three years, it certainly cannot be out of their right to make a much less alteration, by fixing it once more to another term.

As to the sense and mind of the electors, the truth of the matter is this: they are supposed to have no other view in their choice of persons than to send such to parliament as they think best qualified, by their estates, wisdom, and integrity, to do whatever is to be done in parliament, without regard to the time of their sitting there. And there is no other end in the electing representatives, but that they, from time to time, may make and alter laws, in such manner as best to consult and promote the good of the whole community. The very election is, and must be, supposed to empower the elected persons faithfully and impartially to do everything that is necessary, or expedient, for the preservation and establishment of the common interest, whether it falls in with the humours or opinions of the electors or not. This brings us to the only point to be considered, when any alteration of a former changeable law is proposed; and that is, whether (all things considered) it be expedient and useful?

And of this, as far as the time past is concerned, experience is the best judge. When a law hath been long tried, and the consequences and effects of it in a nation have been many years open and sensible, it requires but little thought to judge whether it be best to continue it in every respect as it is, or to model it anew. And now, if you please, we will consider the effect the triennial elections have had amongst ourselves at home; and then it will be proper to

think of the effect they have had, and still must naturally have, abroad.

At home, the least evil is, that the tempers and spirits of men are put into a ferment, and boiled up into a rage, which never is cooled, because the returns at which this rage is useful to some persons or other are so quick that it is not politic in such men to let it cease; nor perhaps possible for them to make it cease, even if they were willing to do so. Riots, tumults, mutual abuses, odious nick-names, personal affronts, are kept alive and warm, from three year to three year, by men of design and dexterity in the management of other men's passions; improved and heightened by such quick returns. These are what we see and feel of the effects of it upon the temper of a nation, that, if ever it is ruined, can be ruined by nothing but its divided affections and interests.

Besides this, there could not be contrived a method more effectual to the debauchery of the subjects' morals, not only in one but in all respects, than this hath proved. Bribery, known and open, (without a remedy,) which supposeth a corruption of mind, and naturally leads to an insensibility to everything great and honourable; and by degrees to a perfect disregard to everything sacred and useful. A scene of bestial intemperance, encouraged and paid for in many places, for fear friendship should cool, if it be not kept hot by such methods.—And the crimes that often accompany this need not be mentioned. The least is a general disposition in men to leave the thoughts of diligence and industry in their business, for the more agreeable entertainments of idleness, and a luxurious beggary.

I do not suppose or argue that this alteration of the term will put a full stop to this corruption of morals, either as to bribery, or to the other instances named. But it is certain that, the returns being not so quick, the tempers of men must, in the nature of things, become much more easy to one another by degrees; which is itself an advantage greatly to be valued. It is certain that the scent of bribery cannot be so strong, nor the avowal of it so constant, when there is such an intermission. And as for that never-ceasing current of debauchery, requisite for so frequent elections, it must be this way interrupted; and, in a good degree, broken into. The crimes often accompanying it must diminish: and the men, brought

up to laborious callings, must exchange their idleness for industry; and become much more useful to their families and the public.

I mention not the ruin both of the estates and morals of gentlemen, so frequently candidates at our elections: they know best how well they can bear such evils; and whether it tends to make themselves better patriots to their country, or better fathers to their own families, that they are to make their way by so quick returns of bribery and corruption.

We have hitherto considered the ill effect of these evil consequences at home, supposing them to terminate in the concerns of private men. But this supposition is not to be continued. For you will see presently that all these things have a visible influence upon the public. The general topic amongst the adversaries of this alteration, as well those who hate as those who love liberty, truly so called, is the seeming advantage of this part of the act to that great and lovely good. I call it seeming; because, as it never was designed at first, by many of the most zealous promoters of it, for anything but to cramp the endeavours of a good prince for the settling our liberties; so it hath never had any better lasting effect that way, than they designed it should have; but, as I think, visibly tends in its consequences to the destruction of our legal liberties. The reason is short and plain. Nothing in the world can make men more supinely negligent of the public interest, or dispose them more to receive their chains, than a state of bribery, corruption, debauchery, and idleness. And this is the constant state of most of our electors, merely through the quick returns and the pleasing prospect of elections. The more lasting and uninterrupted this state is, the less sensible are they of the evils it inclines them to. They are by degrees brought to think the highest bidder to have the best right to their votes; and will act in time agreeably to that thought, whether the money be offered them from abroad or at home. The little interruption to their vices and their expectations, is the thing which makes the danger so great: and this is owing to the frequent returns of elections, at so short, certain periods of time.

Nor doth this argument touch the electors only, but the elected also, to a very great degree. For as long as human nature is capable of corruption; as long as there is a probability, or even a possibility, of any part of mankind being

induced to sell their country and their posterity, for a present advantage to themselves; so long it is evident to a demonstration, that gentlemen, who have by so frequent returns of chargeable elections exhausted their estate and impoverished their families, will be much more likely to seek or to embrace opportunities of re-imbursing themselves, and preventing their own immediate ruin, at the expense of the public liberty and security; much more likely, I say, to act this part, than if the term were made longer; and if by that means they might hope to be at rest from expense for a much longer time.

Add to this, that personal and party revenge, which is, of all others, the most strong principle in the bulk of men, never fails to actuate both the candidates and the electors. If ever our ruin be effected, it is too probable this will be the great engine of it. And let every one judge, whether anything could be devised more likely, either to raise, or actuate, or preserve that spirit in its keenness and bitterness, than the triennial returns of elections, and the expectation of them: or whether anything can give us any respite from that spirit, and its fatal consequences, but an alteration of those returns to a longer distance.

There is another consideration very well worth mentioning on this subject, which is the distribution of justice in the countries. It is manifest that nothing hath diverted the course of it from its proper current so much as the party views of men, kept up to such a degree by the expected returns of frequent elections; and that nothing can recall it again but some rest from those views which turned it aside. Men will not have the temptation, and therefore not the inclination, either to suspend justice or to act contrary to it, in many of those instances in which now their constant hopes or fears, actuated by the frequency of elections, are too apt to draw them aside. Besides that, when some intermission is given to the heats and quarrels of neighbours, the occasions and opportunities of partiality or injustice must, in good measure, cease.

The effects which I have now gone over are but too certain, as they are the natural product of the passions of men in a divided nation; and they are evils which will be, by degrees, at least very much abated by the present design.

We have hitherto considered our triennial elections, their

influence upon us at home. Now let us consider what effect they have had, and still naturally have, abroad. And here it must be remembered that we are a nation not separated in interest (as we are in situation) from the rest of Europe. We have enemies at home acting in concert with enemies abroad: and friends abroad, without regard to whose interests and alliances we must, sooner or later, become a sacrifice to those enemies. We have a Pretender to guard against; many here are his professed friends; and many more act either blindly or designedly with those who are so; bearing a sensible part in their interests, and ever encouraging, or, at least, not discouraging, them. That which keeps up the views of those abroad, who think it their concern to make us the scene of civil war, if not a province to themselves under that Pretender; that, I say, alone which keeps up their views is, the knowing they have friends here; and the finding that these friends are never in despair, but always representing their cause as promising well. And that which keeps them in this temper is, the constant expectation of new elections, in which they hope for more, but are certain, at least, of this advantage, that our heats, and hatreds, and desire of revenge, are still perpetuated and improved. This is constantly represented abroad; and with such success that they who wish evil to our happy establishment seem really to believe it; and they who wish well to it receive impression enough from it to look upon us with diffidence, as a people always fluctuating and uncertain. It was this great disadvantage, arising from our condition at home, that brought King William to make a peace, even against his own good judgment and his own great views; for which nothing could be urged but that distress to which our wretched and uneasy state here had reduced his affairs. And no wonder now, if after that great unhappiness, and what is still more dreadful, after a late fatal experience, the best friends we have abroad cannot be so confident of us as our interest makes it requisite they should be. In a word, our enemies both abroad and at home cannot be reduced even one step towards a state of despair, in the methods we are in at present; nor our best friends be thoroughly assured of our secure estate: the former must look upon us still with a good degree of contempt; and the latter with a great deal of uneasiness and diffidence, till we have some resting time to settle, not only the tempers, but the affairs

and the interests of this nation; which never will be done, as there is reason to fear, as long as parliaments continue limited to the present term.

This puts me in mind of another very material point, which, though absolutely necessary to procure us the confidence of our friends and to command respect from our enemies, yet seems impossible to be effected without a greater steadiness of counsels, a more uninterrupted application to public business, and a more mature and disinterested deliberation, than the experience we have had of frequent elections gives room to hope for. This is the paying off the debts of the nation, which must otherwise eat out the very vitals of the public, and expose us to the greatest danger from such foreign powers as are using the most violent methods to be beforehand with us in this signal advantage. To work out this inveterate evil there appears but one method consistent with the faith of parliamentary securities, (which ought to be preserved inviolable,) and at the same time free from the odium of imposing new taxes on the country, and in which consequently the landed and the monied interest would be likely to join without either thinking themselves in the least aggrieved. This is to raise and support the public credit to such a height as may enable the government to borrow at a lower interest what may pay off such debts as carry a greater; which was attempted last year, but hindered by the rebellion. Now experience shows that public credit will be subject to perpetual fluctuations and inequalities, or even fall to an ebb from whence it is next to impossible to make it reascend, while the measures of one three years are liable to be unravelled and reversed by the three next succeeding, and those again by the next; and whilst under the shelter of frequent elections, such tumults, commotions, and disorders are introduced, as, however opposite in themselves, conspire in shaking the foundation of all government, keep men's minds in suspense, and make them look on everything as precarious that is any ways involved with the public.

After many inquiries, I can meet with but one good event in favour of the triennial term for elections, which a long experience hath furnished us with: and that is, that it is supposed to have been the occasion of throwing out the destructive bill of commerce; some gentlemen not daring to vote for it out of fear of their next elections. But this you

will see cuts both ways. For as gentlemen may by accident not do a bad thing for fear of their next election; so it is plain, that they may as often not do the most necessary good thing, if it happens to be unpopular, for the same fear. So that this holds at least equally against that bill, as for it. But then many who knew those times will deny the fact, and affirm, that a multitude of little piques and great passions concurred in that affair; and that the awe of electors happened at that time to have but little share in it. Private history would be useful to us upon this occasion. But this we all saw in public, that however that fear might then be supposed to work so far, as to hinder those few gentlemen from openly espousing that fatal bill; it did not work so far as to keep them immediately from entering into an address, and voting for such methods, as must have been as fatal as that bill itself, if Providence had not interposed. What would it have availed us that the bill had not passed then, if these designs, at the same time on foot, had prevailed? and what doth it avail to say, that the triennial term did us that good, (supposing it so,) when it is plain it had not the power to preserve that good; and that the same persons who seemed to fear it yet were induced to undo their own work, and to enter into measures which must have ended in the same evils, and indeed in universal destruction? It signifies little, therefore, whether this was the great occasion of that lucky incident or not; because it is plain it had not power enough to hinder the ill effects of that bill, in another method: nor would have hindered them, had not something else intervened. But supposing it had; certainly that one particular, so purely accidental, cannot be set against a train of constant, and too certain, evil consequences, which we feel every day we live. These evil consequences are so many undeniable arguments for an alteration of it; and weigh exceedingly and particularly at this juncture, when all our happiness depends upon the firm establishment of our excellent king upon his throne; when all our enemies at home and abroad visibly place their hopes in our disturbances, owing to nothing so much as to the constant expectation of triennial elections; when all our true friends, both here and elsewhere, wait with impatience to see our security firmly and thoroughly established: when the going on with proper measures for such establishment has been unavoidably put

off, by the attention given to the rebellion, and so the longer continuance of this parliament is become particularly necessary; and when we all may observe, if we please, that though the rebellion be in great measure quelled, yet the spirit of it is so far from being laid asleep, that it walks about still, even at noon day, in defiance of all authority; and with a stubbornness never to be reduced to a settled despair, without some such method as is now talked of.

These particulars, I say, are so many undeniable arguments for an alteration of the term of years fixed in the act, unless it shall appear that the objections against doing it are of more weight and importance. Those which I have been able to hear of, together with such as you tell me are most talked of in the country, we will now just run over.

The most general objection (and that which seems in reality to lie at the bottom of the rest) is, that this step will be so unpopular among the electors, and raise such a clamour all over the nation, as must for ever sink the interest of those who have any share in promoting it. To this I answer, that it will wholly depend on the parliament itself, to render this proceeding popular, or unpopular, by the right or wrong use they shall make of the prolongation thereby accruing to themselves. If their after behaviour should be such, as to show they had no wiser nor more generous view in making this alteration, than merely to save themselves the hazard, trouble, and expense of a new election, they must, no doubt, be content to reap the rewards of their selfishness, by forfeiting all title to the future good-will of their electors. But if their zeal and industry for promoting the ease and safety of the nation shall appear to rise in proportion to the time allowed them for accomplishing the great work they have begun, the end will sufficiently commend the means; and the advantages arising to the whole kingdom from this change will easily reconcile it to all such, with whom a good man ought ever to wish to maintain the character of popularity. It will certainly be in the power of those who most apprehend the odium and unpopularity of this action, to secure it from all possible misrepresentations, by making use of the power it will bring with it, to just and wise purposes; to ease the debts, to perfect the tranquillity, and to perpetuate the peace of the nation. Raising money by taxes upon land, windows, soap, or anything else, is always unpopular, and always raises clamours

when it is first resolved upon. Everything that hath been done for the security of his present Majesty; the suspending the Habeas Corpus act, without which we must have been destroyed; the granting him a power to raise and hire forces for his own and the nation's defence; the putting his friends into any possibility of consulting his safety and honour; every particular of this sort hath been represented all over the nation, in such colours, that it hath been highly unpopular, and been attended with great clamours: but necessity and experience are the things to be considered in all such points. These will always make things pleasing to the true friends of the nation. But in order to be popular with the king's enemies, the first step he must take must be, to lay down his crown; and if his ministers be resolved to be moved by clamours, they must resign their posts, and yield up all power to those who wish to destroy them. The only consideration is, whether the nation's affairs require a thing to be done: when that is fixed, popular or unpopular, clamours or no clamours, ought not to affect any further than about the manner of doing it. Everything that touches particular men's purses, or retrenches from their luxury, will generally be unpopular with those men; but a little time makes such things easy, when the public finds its advantage in it, and men's passions have had time to cool.

Another thing which I find generally shows itself, at first hearing of the design, is an uneasiness, as if this were repealing the act: when, in truth, I will venture to affirm, that it is so far from that, that it is indeed restoring it to its best design, and making it effectual to all that good which was originally purposed and intended by any of those honest patriots who joined in the first framing of it. The designs were, that a king of England should not be without a parliament; and that one and the same parliament should have a term fixed, beyond which it should not be in the power of the prince to continue it; and in both these respects the act will be left as it was. All the difference is, that the parliament then in being thought three years the proper term. Experience hath assured us of a multitude of evils proceeding from so quick a return of elections. And therefore, in that part of the act, and in that only, is the alteration intended, in order to remedy or abate those evils, without bringing in greater.

Another reason against it is taken from a suspicion of

some private and personal views in the king's ministers; as if the whole aim were to establish themselves, for so much longer time, in their power. But I observe, that the same persons who make this objection generally contradict it, by affirming that the ministers have nothing to fear, and that this present design is wholly unnecessary, because a court may be sure of another House of Commons to their mind. They must think the ministry very weak not to see this, which is so plain, that the influence of a court had hardly ever failed in this point, though at the same time the gentlemen who make this objection are apt to insinuate the necessity of some measures for this purpose, which cannot be very agreeable to an honest and incorrupt ministry. However, in the opinion of such as allow this, it cannot be having a view to themselves, but in a general view to the nation at home, and to the interest and glory of it abroad, which engageth the ministers in this design. They who know the nature of such affairs judge the contrary, that the ministers, as to their own private interest, might more probably find their account in new parliaments, than in one continued. Experience shows, that the most courtly parliaments have turned uncourtly in their long sitting: and therefore this design cannot be necessary for any private self-interested views of their own, because it is allowed, that such ends (if they have any) might be served as well, at least, in the former method, as in this. They who find a bias in their minds against everything proposed by a court, let it be what it will, should consider, in this case, whether it be not probable that the present views and designs are of a public nature, rather than of a private; and should act accordingly, without prejudice, or affection, as they think it requisite, or not, for the establishment of the king and the nation; and for the more effectual destroying all the hopes of the enemies of both.

The most powerful objection of all is, that the alteration now designed may make it much more likely, that under a bad prince, some time or other, arbitrary power may be brought in. For the present, I am sure, we have nothing to fear. We have now a king upon the throne, whose soul is fashioned to right and justice; and whose great inquiry upon all occasions is, what our constitution and what our laws require of him. We have a prince in view, to succeed him, whose native honour and integrity guard him against all suspicion.

But I grant, this may not always be our happiness, either in possession or in prospect: and therefore if this allegation could be proved, I should be moved another way than I am at present: there will be more time, I acknowledge, in any one particular parliament, for attempts to be made that way. But, as I think, not at all more likely to succeed. On the contrary, there is more likelihood, that gentlemen should by degrees become even ready to part with a constitution, for which there must be such contention by bribery, and all the arts of iniquity, every three years, than if it we were otherwise. And then again, supposing a parliament chosen for three years only; a prince resolutely bent upon doing it in a parliamentary way, prepared with treasures and favours, might make such attempts, before that term be expired, that none could resist, who would not as certainly go on further in their integrity. One may venture to affirm that a parliament which keeps its integrity for three years, will discourage the making any such attempts for the remaining four. And, to give an instance, if I remember right, the parliament which gave up the liberties of Sweden gave that fatal stroke within the term of three years. Whenever a court can be bad enough for such a design, they will first take care at the time of election to set up persons capable of the same bad design. And then there is no difference between three or seven years. Only, here remember, what I have before observed to you, that the quick returns of triennial elections tend much more to that corruption, bribery, and dissoluteness of manners, as well as party-revenge, which pave the way to the loss of liberty, than the longer term, now proposed, can do. One might appeal to any who know the world, whether it be not more probable (as I have urged already) that the elected gentlemen themselves, impoverished by so frequent returns of their great charges, will be inclined to listen to the offer made them, with so pernicious a view, than if the returns were not so frequent; and besides this, whether the influence that way from the powerful motive of party-revenge, will not have vastly more weight, when it is roused, and irritated, and set on fire by so quick returns of contention, than if it were otherwise. And what is of great moment, in my opinion, since it is plain that every instance of wickedness, and division, tending to destruction, is so heightened and inflamed by the quick returns of elections;

there must be much greater encouragement to a foreign enemy, to interpose with his money, to purchase our ruin in a triennial choice, than in a septennial. Especially now before we are well settled upon that bottom which is the only foundation of our happiness. It is well known how far the neighbouring powers intermeddle in the elections of Poland and Germany, and with how much success they send their agents and factors to them; and what an abuse of liberty this corruption has introduced in those countries, all the world can testify; nor can we think the election of a British parliament so very indifferent a thing to some neighbouring powers, especially at certain junctures, that they should think one or two hundred thousand pounds misapplied, in purchasing votes to their mind. And I can say, that this is no whimsical supposition, because I have myself seen an intercepted letter, written from hence into France, just before the last election, by a friend to the Pretender, who had taken the oaths to King George, plainly hinting both that such a thing was then expected from the king of France, and that he did not doubt the success of it. I think this alone is enough to alarm any true lover of his country, in the present situation of our affairs, and of those of all Europe.

There is one more objection, I hear, is often urged, that we should have severely blamed such a design in the late administration; nay, that great horror was expressed, at the very supposition of the thing at that time: I grant this, and that the horror was just and reasonable. But upon what was this founded? Not upon the unlawfulness of the thing itself; not upon the impossibility of its ever being fit to be done; but upon a too well-grounded assurance, that they who were then in power must have meant it, whenever they did it, for the same end to which their other acts tended, and that was the utter ruin of the grand alliance, and of all the hopes of our best friends abroad, and the inspiring full vigour into the cause of France and the Pretender. This was the ground of all just dread upon that head. Had it been so, that they had designed it manifestly for the firmer security of the Protestant succession here, and the greater support of the grand alliance abroad, no true Briton could have had ground of complaint, but must have acknowledged, if it tended and was necessary to so good ends, that it was not

only lawful, but highly praise-worthy. An instance parallel to it may quite take off the edge of this objection. What honest mind would not have been filled with uneasiness and terror, supposing they had then attempted to suspend the *Habeas Corpus Act*, by which they might have confined all men of great capacity and influence, whom they knew to be averse to their proceedings, in favour of France? But would this have been any argument, why the friends of King George should not have secured him and the nation by such a suspension, when made necessary by the treasonable practices of his avowed enemies? Or because we blame a thing lawful in itself, when we see it designed for our ruin, therefore, must we be averse to a lawful thing, designed and tending to our preservation? This is the whole strength of that objection, which yet, I believe, weighs with many, for want of considering it.

As for the late ministers, I verily believe they designed no such thing. And my reason for believing so is, that they did not at all want it; nay, that it would have done them more hurt than good. Their designs were such as were to be managed solely by artifice. The great engines they made use of for keeping up a spirit against all truth and right, were those very mobs, riots, and tumults, which alone could keep a multitude in such a ferment, as to make them admire, and press for their own ruin. They thought it their interest to govern by the passions of the crowd, and were very peculiarly dexterous in the management of them. They were possessed of the full cry and noise of the nation, and likely in all probability so to continue: this was a much surer hold to them, and to their designs, than the continuance of one and the same parliament: and therefore, they never attempted it. But certainly, as that same spirit which was then raised for the service of the Pretender, made it unnecessary for them; so, it being still alive, and full of evil influences upon our happiness, this makes it highly prudent in others, to do that in order to suppress and extirpate it, which they, in their wisdom, would not do, for fear of quieting what they expected benefit from. Their security consisted in keeping up that vile spirit to the height. It is the security of the king and his government to have a stop put to it, and to remove every opportunity that may give fuel and encouragement to it, as

far as is consistent with the constitution and liberties of the nation.

All these considerations put together have, I confess, wholly taken off my first surprise; and the same considerations make me hope, that all true friends to the king, and to the public happiness, (which now depends entirely upon the firm establishment of the present Royal Family,) will not let their general suspicion, or their particular bias, have such power over them, as to move them to join with their own enemies, in a point, in which, if they should, by any unforeseen accident, have success, I am confident, they would very heartily, as well as fruitlessly, repent of their own proceedings. When persons who have always shown themselves enemies to liberty, and professors of the principles of slavery; who have ever expressed a hatred of the revolution, and of everything built upon it; and have ever been the supports of the Popish and Jacobite interest in these nations: when such, I say, put on a zeal for liberty, it is a moral demonstration that it is all a mock show; and that they themselves think quite otherwise of what they oppose, than they would seem to think. If it were really their opinion, that the alteration now proposed, would either help the cause which they have espoused, or be any prejudice to a government which they hate, I am very confident, they would not enter into the opposition of it, with that warmth and heat which they now profess. But they foresee that their hopes must in proportion abate, with those heats and disturbances which alone keep them alive; and for this reason it is, that they now take into their mouths the words and topics which they have ever hitherto ridiculed and exploded in order to keep off the thing which they heartily hate, the settlement of the present government in peace and quiet at home, and in honour and glory abroad.

And this is one very good reason why all who truly wish well to that settlement, should unite in the alteration of that which is the chief, if not the only, thing left to keep up the spirits and designs of its enemies. But if, when it is in our power to put some stop to our present corruptions and distractions, and to establish the glory of our king and the happiness of our country, in a method perfectly consistent with all our rights and liberties, we are guided by the insinuations of those who hate us, and refuse to do it, we must

thank ourselves for all that follows. It will lie at our door to answer for all the consequences of such a neglect. From those, with whom we join in it, we have no returns, but contempt, reproaches, and insults.

In fine, I can consider the triennial return of our elections no otherwise than as what hath made us, and still continues us, the most divided and most corrupted of nations; what was at first by many contrived, and still in its own nature tends, to oppose the designs of the best kings, and to promote those of the worst; leading to an universal debauchery of the manners and tempers of the electors, as well as to make the elected themselves weary enough of such perpetual contests and charge, to incline sometime or other to thoughts which would not otherwise find admittance; influencing the people to think easily of becoming a prey to the highest bidder; keeping up the spirits of our common enemies, and creating diffidence and uneasiness in our best friends; introducing and increasing all excesses of violence and mutual revenge; serving a multitude of bad purposes, which have a peculiar malignity at this particular juncture, without having one good effect fit to be named in opposition to them; and all this occasioned by the shortness of the interval allowed, either to put an end to such evils or to cultivate anything that is good. To cure all these entirely, nothing can perhaps be thought of, but what would introduce greater. To apply something that may put an end to some of them, and abate and diminish the rest, is a matter that deserves the regard of every good Briton; and, I believe, at this time, nothing at all effectual can be thought of, without an alteration of the triennial elections.

I am, &c.

ADDISON AND STEELE'S JOINT ASSIGNMENT TO SAMUEL BUCKLEY, THE BOOKSELLER, OF ONE HALF SHARE OF THE FIRST SEVEN VOLUMES OF THE SPECTATOR.

WHEREAS there is already printed four volumes of the Spectators which include from number one to number three hundred seventy-one and whereas there is two volumes more now printing which will take in from number three hundred twenty-one to number four hundred and eighty or thereabouts which will make six volumes and whereas it is intended by the authors whose names are hereinafter mentioned to continue writing the said Spectator to the end of this present month of November which will make a seventh volume

Now know all men by these presents that Joseph Addison of St. James' Westminster Esq. and Richard Steele of St. Giles' in the fields Esq. for and in consideration of the sum of five hundred seventy and five pounds to them or one of them in hand paid by Samuel Buckley of London printer and bookseller the receipt whereof they the said Joseph Addison and Richard Steele do hereby respectively acknowledge They the said Joseph Addison and Richard Steel have and each and either of them hath granted bargained sold assigned transferred and set over and by these presents they the said Joseph Addison and Richard Steele do and each and either of them doth grant bargain sell assign transfer and set over unto the said Samuel Buckley his executors administrators and assigns all that their full and sole right and title of in and to one moiety or full half share of the copys of all and every the above mentioned seven volumes of Spectators which said moiety or full half share to remain unto the said Samuel Buckley his heirs and assigns for ever—In witness whereof the said Joseph Addison and Richard Steele have hereunto set their hands and seals this Tenth day of November anno Dom. 1712.

Witnesses, Richard Thwaites. JOSEPH ADDISON.
David Verdon, RICHARD STEELE.
at the Fountain Tavern in the Strand.

BUCKLEYS RE-ASSIGNMENT OF THE ABOVE TO TONSON AFTER TWO YEARS' USE.

KNOW all men by these presents that I Samuel Buckley of London stationer for and in consideration of the sum of five hundred pounds to me in hand paid by Jacob Tonson Jun. of London stationer the receipt whereof I do hereby acknowledge do by these presents grant bargain sell and set over unto the said Jacob Tonson the full and sole right of in and to the within-mentioned copy of a book entitled the Spectator the said copy to remain unto the said Jacob Tonson his heirs and assigns for ever—In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and seal this thirteenth of October 1714. SAM. BUCKLEY.

Sealed and delivered in the presence of
Thomas Glenister.
Thomas Edeline.

ASSIGNMENT WITH TONSON FOR THE EIGHTH VOLUME OF THE SPECTATOR.

KNOW all men by these presents that I Joseph Addison of the parish of St. Clements Danes in the county of Middlesex for and in consideration of the sum of fifty-three pounds fifteen shillings of good and lawful money of Great Britain, to me in hand paid by Jacob Tonson jun. of London Bookseller the receipt whereof he the said Joseph Addison doth hereby acknowledge he the said Joseph Addison hath bargained sold assigned and set over and by these presents doth bargain sell assign and set over all that his full and sole right and title of in and to the copy of the eighth vol. of the Spectator from number five hundred and fifty-six inclusive to number six hundred and thirty-five inclusive—which said copy to be and remain unto the said Jacob Tonson his heirs and assigns for ever—In witness whereof the said Joseph Addison hath herewith set his hand and seal this twenty-seventh day of August 1715. J. ADDISON.

Sealed and delivered being first stamped according to the several Acts of Parliament in the presence of
Thos Tickell.
Jas Pinckney.

OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS,

RELATING CHIEFLY TO ADDISON'S APPOINTMENTS.

ADDISON'S MEMORIAL TO QUEEN ANNE,

(For augmentation of salary as Keeper of the Irish records,)

Forwarded by LORD TREASURER GODOLPHIN *to the* EARL OF WHARTON, LORD-LIEUTENANT OF IRELAND.

MY VERY GOOD LORD,

Inclosed I send your Excellency a petition[1] to Her Majesty from Joseph Addison, Esq., Keeper of the Records in the Birmingham Tower within Dublin Castle, praying for the reasons therein mentioned, That such a Salary may be annexed thereunto as Her Majesty shall think proper for an office of such consequence, care, and trust, and that so nearly concerns the rights of the Crown, and the properties of private persons. I desire your Excellency will please to consider the allegation of the said petition; and report to me your opinion thereupon; and what salary you conceive reasonable to be annexed to the said office, to the end I may lay the same before the Queen for a further signification of Her Majesty's pleasure. I am, &c.

9 *January*, 1709. GODOLPHIN.

Underwritten, The Queen grants £400 a year.

ADDISON TO LORD TOWNSHEND.[2]

Enclosing a Memorial.

MY LORD, (Whitehall,) May 31st, 1715.

Though Mr. Secretary Stanhope has been pleased to promise that he will lay before your Lordship the case of the

[1] The petition itself has not been found, but we have before us the official grant, signed *Godolphin, St. James's*, 24th *Feb.* 1709, and addressed to the Lord-Lieut. of Ireland. It sets out that the Lord-Lieutenant, in his report on Addison's Petition, had suggested £500 per annum as a proper allowance *for examining, digesting, transcribing, and cataloguing* the Irish Records, and that the Queen thereupon granted £400 per annum "from Christmas last past." In a note at page 427, we have inadvertently said (but upon historical report) that Queen Anne raised this appointment to £300 per annum. We were not then aware of the present document.

[2] Lord Townshend was then Secretary of State. He was afterwards appointed Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, but he never went over. For a well-drawn character of him see Lord Mahon, i. p. 155, *et seq.*

three regiments which are lately placed upon the Irish Establishment, and are to be raised by levy-money from that kingdom, I am afraid I may seem wanting in my duty to your Lordship, if I do not apply to your Lordship in person upon the occasion. I must confess it is with a great deal of constraint upon myself that I presume to solicit your Lordship for my own advantage, and in a point that interferes with your Lordship's interest. I shall therefore humbly beg leave to enclose the state of this matter for your perusal, and acquiesce in your determination, after having assured your Lordship that, without the indulgence you have already been pleased to show me, my place under my Lord-Lieutenant would have been worth very little to me, and indeed much less than I thought it would have been. If your Lordship pleases to let these three regiments, in which my case is still the same, (as is shown in the enclosed Memorial,) be upon the same footing with the other regiments whose commissions are to be renewed, it will be a very great favour. If not, I shall always acknowledge the generous indulgence which your Lordship has already shown me, and remain with the greatest gratitude and respect,

My Lord, Your Lordship's most obedient
and most humble servant,

The Lord Viscount Townshend. J. ADDISON.

MEMORIAL.

The common people of Ireland being generally Roman Catholics, in order to prevent any such from entering into the Service, it has been for many years thought fit to raise all new regiments, upon the Irish establishment, in the Kingdom of England; as also, when any recruits are wanting to the said regiments, to raise them likewise in England.

When the levy-money is issued out of the revenue of Ireland, the commissions have been always signed by the Lord-Lieutenant of that Kingdom; and the fees of the said commissions paid to his secretary; as may be seen in the case of Mr. Dodington, which now lies in the office of the Secretary of State.

The present Lord-Lieutenant* not having yet taken the Oaths of Office, it is humbly submitted to His Majesty's principal Secretaries of State, whether they will be pleased (upon their reserving to their Under-Secretaries their fees) to grant the same indulgence to the Irish Secretary in the passing of these commissions, as in the renewal of the other military commissions for that kingdom: both these cases being of the same nature.

N. B. The seven regiments lately ordered for Ireland had their commissions renewed in England before they were put on that establishment.

* The Earl of Sunderland.

ADDISON'S MEMORIAL TO GEORGE I.[1]

Written probably about June or July, 1715.

THAT your Memorialist was sent from the University by K. William, in order to travel and qualify himself to serve H. M., by which means he was diverted from making his Fortune in any other way.

That the King allowed him an annual Pension for this end, but H. M. dying in the first year of this his allowance, and the Pension being discontinued, your Memorialist pursued his travels upon his own Expense for above three years.

That upon his Return to England, after having published an Account of his Travels, the Lord Godolphin recommended him to be Under Secretary to Her Majesty's principal Secretary of State, which Place he enjoyed under Sir C. Hedges and the Earl of Sunderland.

That my Lord H(alifax), upon going to Hanover, desired him to accompany him thither; at which time, though he had not the Title of his Secretary, he officiated as such without any other Reward than the Satisfaction of showing his zeal for that illustrious Family.

That upon his Return to England he took all occasions, both by his writings and conversation, to promote the cause which, God be thanked, has so wonderfully prevailed, and to publish those Royal virtues which the nation sees at present in your Majesty.

That your Memorialist was afterwards Secretary to the Earl of W(harton) in the Government of Ireland, and endeavoured to behave himself with that Diligence and Integrity that he has gained the friendship of all the most considerable Persons in that kingdom.

[1] This curious Memorial, which is said to be in Addison's own hand-writing, was first published by Miss Aikin from a much worn and somewhat mutilated copy in the possession of Mr. Tickell. It has since been reprinted in Mr. Cunningham's edition of Johnson's Lives of the Poets. If ever presented, the duplicate of it ought to be found in one of the public depositaries, but we have searched for it in vain.

That when Baron Groet was your Majesty's Minister in these Kingdoms, your Memorialist was employed to meet and discourse with him upon such Points as might be thought conducive to the Interest of the Protestant Succession, the said Baron Groet having proposed to my Lord H(alifax) this method (as) the means to avoid giving any umbrage to *

* * *

That at this time your Memorialist was employed to draw a new Credential Letter from that Excellent Princess, the late Electress Dowager of Brunswick, with other Instruments of the same nature, for which he thought himself amply satisfied by the Pleasure he took in doing anything which might promote your Majesty's Cause.

That, upon the Queen's Demise, without any previous Solicitation, your Memorialist was, in that critical conjuncture, appointed Secretary to the Regency.

That during this very troublesome office, he was ordered by the then Lords Regent to draw up a Preamble to the Prince of Wales' Patent,[1] for which there was no gratuity allowed him.

That he received no fee, salary, reward, or perquisite whatsoever for this his service to the Regency, notwithstanding he was at a considerable charge in keeping clerks, and other expenses that accompanied his attendance in that office, and notwithstanding the incredible fatigue of that office very much impaired his health, and would have endangered his life, had he continued much longer in it.

That the Lords of the Regency, upon the determining this office, declared unanimously that they were highly satisfied with the diligence and fidelity of their Secretary, and that upon their first attendance on your Majesty they would with one voice recommend him to your royal favour, for a mark of your Majesty's bounty.

That the Memorialist's profits as Secretary under my Lord Sunderland have fallen very much short of what might have been expected from that office, and (contrary to the profits of other the like offices in this first happy year[2] of your Majesty's reign) have amounted to no more than they usually are in

[1] Printed at our page 420.

[2] The first regnal year of George I. ended in August, 1715; this Memorial would therefore be somewhat earlier.

any common year, by reason of his Lordship's absence from that kingdom, and his not being qualified to give out military commissions.

That your Memorialist has not thought fit to mention the expenses he was at to get himself elected into the three last sessions of parliament in the last reign, and can appeal to those who were witnesses of his behaviour, that he never departed from those who were well-wishers to your Majesty's interest, though often pressed and tempted to it by the opposite party. Nor will your Memorialist's modesty permit him to insist upon his endeavours, which were not thought unsuccessful, in securing such a spirit among the people as disposed them to favour the interest of a prince who is so justly esteemed a friend to the liberties of Europe and a * * * * of mankind.

It is therefore an unspeakable mortification to your Memorialist to find himself thrown out of place, and for that reason to be regarded as one who has forfeited your Majesty's favour, and I humbly beg that Y. M. * * * * [1]

cætera desunt.

[1] The amount of the Pension referred to in the second paragraph of this Memorial, has, by some of Addison's biographers, been stated at £300 a year, but no official record of it is now to be found. In searching for it, however, we have discovered a grant by K. William to Addison of £200, dated *June* 1, 1699, which is about the very time that Addison set out on his travels. This grant is evidently not intended to be a Pension, being described as a "*free gift and royal bounty*, payable out of any treasure or revenue remaining in our Exchequer, applicable to the uses of the Civil Government." It is signed, *Montague, Tankerville, Fox, Smith, Boyle.*

ADDISON'S MEMORIAL TO GEORGE I.

(In respect to the office of Keeper of the Irish Records.)

Endorsed, "Grant of office of Keeper of the Birmingham Tower Records for life, at £500 a year."

GEORGE R.

Right trusty and right entirely beloved, and right trusty and right well-beloved Cousins and Councillors, we greet you well.

Whereas our trusty and well-beloved Joseph Addison, Esq., Keeper of our Records in our Tower of Birmingham in our kingdom of Ireland, hath most humbly represented[1] unto us, that in the year 1709, upon his petition to our late Royal sister Queen Anne, setting forth that he was in possession of the said office, and that the same was of great consequence to the public, being the proper repository of the Records of that kingdom; and that to make the said office thoroughly useful it was necessary that the papers and records there should be carefully examined, methodically digested, faithfully transcribed, and referred to in proper catalogues, which would require several hands and a diligent attendance; and prayed that a salary suitable to the importance of the said office might be annexed thereunto; and also that by a report made to our late Royal sister by the Lieutenant of that kingdom upon the said petition he was of opinion, that it might be reasonable that a salary of £500 per annum should be annexed thereunto. Nevertheless that our said Royal sister did not then think fit to make the said salary any more than £400 per annum. And whereas the said Joseph Addison hath also represented unto us that he was appointed Secretary to the Regency of our kingdom before our arrival here, which he executed with fidelity and diligence, and hath not received any recompence for his said service; and hath prayed in consideration of the premises, that we would be graciously pleased to grant the said office of keeper of the records in Birmingham Tower to him for life with the like allowance of £500 per annum, as was formerly proposed by the report of the said late Lieutenant of that kingdom. And we being resolved as a mark of our royal grace and favour to

[1] The Memorial itself has not been found.

the said Joseph Addison, to grant the said office of keeper of our said records in Birmingham Tower to him during his natural life, together with the said salary of £500 per annum; with all which you have been made acquainted; Our will and pleasure is, and we do hereby direct, authorize, and command, that by and with the advice of our counsel learned in the laws there, or some of them, you forthwith cause good and sufficient Letters Patent to be passed under the Great Seal of that our kingdom, containing a grant from us to him the said Joseph Addison, of the said office of keeper of our records in the Tower of Birmingham, with a salary of £500 per annum to him during his natural life, to commence from the date of our said letters patent hereby directed, and to be paid in like manner as other the salaries within the civil list of the establishment of our expense in that our kingdom are paid and payable. And you are to cause to be inserted therein all such necessary recitals and clauses as are usual in grants of the like nature, and as may make our grant hereby intended most firm, valid, and effectual, according to our royal intention herein before delivered. And for so doing this shall be as well to you as to our Lieutenant, Deputy, or other chief Governor or Governors of our said kingdom, also the Chancellor or Keeper of our Great Seal there, and all other offices whom they may concern, a sufficient warrant. So we bid you heartily farewell.

Given at our Court at St. James, the 4th day October, 1715.

By command of the King.

To our Right Trusty and right entirely beloved Cousin and Councillor Charles, Duke of Grafton, and to our Trusty and right well-beloved Cousin and Councillor, Henry Earl of Galway; our Justices and general Governors of our Kingdom of Ireland; and to our Lieutenant, Deputy, and other chief Governor or Governors of the said kingdom for the time being.

CARLISLE.
WIL. ST. QUINTIN.
EDW. WORSLEY.

ROYAL WARRANTS FOR THE SALARIES OF SUNDERLAND AND ADDISON AS SECRETARIES OF STATE.

(£1850 *per annum.*)

GEORGE R.

Our Will and Pleasure is, that you forthwith prepare a Bill for Our Royal signature to pass Our Privy Seal, in these words or to this effect:

George, by the Grace of God King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, to the Commissrs of Our Treasury now being, and to Our High Treasurer or Commissrs of our Treasury for the time being, Greeting:

Our Will and Pleasure is, and We do hereby direct, authorize, and command, that out of Our treasure or Revenue now or hereafter being and remaining in the Receipt of Our Exchequer, applicable to the uses of Our Civil Government, you pay or cause to be paid unto Our Right Trusty and Right Well-beloved cousin and councillor, Charles Earl of Sunderland, one of Our Principal Secretaries of State, or to his Assignees, the yearly sum of 1850*li.* That is to say, so much as the said yearly sum or salary of 1850*li* per annum, to be computed by the day, shall amount unto from the 12th day of April, 1717, (the day he was made one of Our Secretaries of State,) to the 24th day of June following, inclusive: And from and after the said 24th day of June the said salary to be paid quarterly, at the four most usual Feasts or days of payment in the year, by even and equal portions, for so long time as he shall continue to be Our Secretary of State; Which said Allowance was formerly payable to the Receiver-General and Cashier of Our Customs, in lieu of the pensions heretofore payable to each of Our Secretaries of State, in respect of the said Office; The same to be paid without account, Imprest, or other charge.

And These Our Letters, &c., Given, &c. And for so doing This shall be your Warrant.

Given at Our Court at St. James's, the 26th day of April, in the third year of Our reign. Anno Domini 1717.

By His Majesty's Command.

JAMES STANHOPE.
TORRINGTON.
GEO. BAILLIE.

To the Clerk of Our Signet attending.

Joseph Addison, Esq. A like Warrant signed and sealed, *ut supra*, for his salary of 1850*li* per annum, as one of His Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State.

ROYAL WARRANT FOR £3000 SECRET SERVICE MONEY,
To Addison[1] (*as Secretary of State*).

GEORGE, by the Grace of God King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c., to the Commissioners of Our Treasury and Under-Treasurer of Our Exchequer now being, and to Our High Treasurer or Commissioners of our Treasury and Under-Treasurer of Our Exchequer for the time being, Greeting:

Our Will and Pleasure is, and We do hereby direct, authorize and command, that out of any our Treasure or Revenue now or hereafter being and remaining in the Receipt of our Exchequer, applicable to the use of Our Civil Government, you pay or cause to be paid unto Our Right trusty and beloved Councillor, Joseph Addison, Esq., one of Our Principal Secretaries of State, or to his Assignees, the sum of Three Thousand Pounds for Our secret service, without account, imprest, or other charge: And These Our Letters shall be your sufficient Warrant and discharge on this behalf.

Given under Our Privy Seal at Our Palace of Westm. the thirteenth day of April, in the third year of Our reign. Anno Dni 1717.

(*Superscribed*) Joseph Addison, Esq. HENRY LUDLOW.

ROYAL WARRANT FOR £100 PER ANNUM TO ADDISON FOR PATENT FEE.

BY virtue of the Letters Patents in this behalf and of His Mtys General Letters Patents dormant, bearing date the 14th day of August, 1717, These are to pray and require your Lordship to make and pass Debentures or draw an Order for paying unto Joseph Addison, Esq., late one of His Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State, or to His Assignees, the sum of 91*li.* 4*s.* 8*d.*, without account, the same being for 333 days due on the Patent Fee or Salary of 100*li* per an. from the 15 day of April, 1717, exclus., to the 14 day of March following, inclus., when he delivered up the Seals of the said Office; And let the same be satisfied out of any money in the Receipt of His Majesty's Exchequer, applicable to the uses of His Majesty's Civil Government. And for so doing, This shall be your Lordship's Warrant.

Whitehall Treasury Chambers, 29th of April, 1718.

SUNDERLAND P.
J. AISLABIE.
J. WALLOP.[2]
GEO. BAILIE.
WM. CLAYTON.

To the Auditor of Receipt.[3]

[1] The like grant was made to Sunderland, at same date.

[2] Then *George* Montague, Earl of Halifax, nephew and successor of the late Earl.

[3] Afterwards Viscount Lymington and Earl of Portsmouth.

RETIRING PENSION TO ADDISON OF £1600 PER ANNUM, *Granted March* 19, 1718.

GEORGE R.

Right Trusty and right entirely beloved Cousin and Councillor, We greet you well and do hereby will, authorize and command that you do immediately cause good and sufficient Letters patent to be passed under the Great Seal of that our Kingdom by and with the advice of our Council learned in the law there, or some of them to contain our Grant unto our right Trusty and well-beloved Councillor, Joseph Addison, Esq. in consideration of his good and faithful services to us performed, of an Annuity or yearly sum of £1600 of lawful money of Great Britain to be issuing and payable out of, and to be charged and chargeable upon all and every or any the revenues of us, our heirs and successors in that our Kingdom applicable thereunto, and to be paid at the receipt of our Exchequer, by the hands of the Receiver-General of the said revenues for the time being, To have, hold, receive, recover, and enjoy the said Annuity or yearly sum of £1600 unto the said Joseph Addison, from the Feast of the birth of our Lord Jesus Christ, now last past,[1] for and during the term of his natural life, and to be paid and grow due and payable at four of the most usual feasts or days of payment in the year, that is to say, the feast of the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary, the Nativity of St. John Baptist, St. Michael the Archangel, and the Birth of our Lord Christ, by even and equal portions, the first payment thereof to be made at or for the Quarter ending at the feast of the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin, in the year of our Lord, 1718. And that you cause to be inserted in such Letters patent proper clauses for inserting the said Annuity upon the present and all future establishments for the civil expense of that our kingdom, and to command and authorize as well yourself and the Chief Governor or Governors of that our Kingdom for the time being, as also the Treasurer of the Exchequer, Barons, Receiver-General, Auditors, and all other Officers and Ministers of the said Exchequer, and of the Revenues aforesaid from time to time, to do, and to perform, all acts, matters, and things, which are or shall be necessary or conducible to the due payment and allowance of the said annuity, according to our pleasure and true meaning in that behalf, and all such other apt and beneficial clauses as may make our said Grant thereof most firm, valid, and effectual. And for so doing this shall be as well to you as to our Lieutenant, Deputy, Justices, or other chief Governor or Governors of that our Kingdom for the time being a sufficient Warrant.

[1] That is, from Christmas day 1717, at which time he was in the enjoyment of £1850 per annum as Secretary of State. That his salary as Secretary of State, and his Patent fee, were paid in full up to the day of his resignation is attested by entries in the official books; see *post*, p. 644.

Given at our Court at St. James' the 19th day of March, 1717-8. In the fourth year of our reign.

By his Majesty's command.

To our Right Trusty and Right entirely Beloved Cousin and Councillor, Charles Duke of Bolton, our Lieutenant-General and General Governor of *Ireland*.

STANHOPE.
GEO. BAILLIE.
THOS. MICKLETHWAITE.

ROYAL GRANT TO ADDISON OF 1013 OZ. OF SILVER PLATE.

May 8th, 1718.

GEORGE R.

Our Will and Pleasure is, that you forthwith prepare a Bill for Our Royal signature to pass Our Privy Seal in these words or to this effect:

GEORGE, by the Grace of God King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c., To the Commissioners of our Treasury, Chancellor, and Under-Treasurer, Chamberlains, Barons, and all other Officers and Ministers of Our Exchequer that hereafter shall be, and to the Master and Treasurer of Our Jewels and Plate now and for the time being, and to all others whom This may concern, Greeting.

Whereas it appears by a Certificate which has been laid before Us, That there hath been delivered out of the Jewel Office, by an Indenture, bearing date the 30th day of July last, unto Our Right Trusty and Well-beloved Councillor, Joseph Addison, Esq., as one of Our Principal Secretaries of State, the quantity of 1013 oz. 13 dwt. of white Plate, which being valued at 6*s.* 8*d.* per Ounce, amounts to the sum of £337 17*s.*, no part of which said Plate hath been returned in the said Jewel-Office: And Whereas We are graciously pleased, in consideration of the many good and acceptable services performed unto Us by the said Joseph Addison, to grant, release, and discharge unto him, his heirs, Executors and Administrators, the aforesaid Plate, and every part and parcel thereof.

Know ye therefore: that We, of Our special grace, certain knowledge, and mere motion, have given, granted, released, and discharged, and do by These Presents for Us, Our heirs and successors, give, grant, release, and discharge unto the said Joseph Addison, his heirs, Executors and Administrators, the said quantity of 1013 oz. 3 dwt. of white Plate, so delivered to him as aforesaid, and every part and parcel thereof, to his and their own use and uses, without any account or other matter or thing to be rendred to Us, Our heirs and successors, for or in respect of the same or any part thereof.

Our Will and Pleasure, therefore, is, and we do hereby direct,

authorize, and command you or such of you, to whom it appertains, to do or cause to be done all acts, matters, and things, whereby the said Joseph Addison, his heirs, Executors and Administrators, may be fully and effectually acquitted, released, and discharged of and from the said quantity of 1013 oz. 13 dwt. of white Plate and every part or parcel thereof, And of and from all actions, suits, prosecutions, troubles, and demands whatsoever touching or concerning the same or any part thereof; And that you, the Master and Treasurer of Our Jewels and Plate, do forthwith, upon sight hereof, deliver or cause to be delivered up the recited Indenture or Receipt for the said quantity of Plate, whereby the said Joseph Addison, his heirs, Executors and Administrators, or his or their lands, goods, or chattels, are or might be charged or chargeable with the same; And these Our Letters of Privy Seal, being first entered in the Office of Our Remembrancer in Our Court of Exchequer, shall be to you and every of you a sufficient warrant and discharge. Given, &c.

And for so doing, This shall be your Warrant. Given at Our Court at Kensington, the 8th day of May, 1718, in the fourth year of Our reign.

By His Majesty's Command.

SUNDERLAND P.
J. AISLABIE.
GEO. BAILLIE.

To the Clerk of Our Signet attending.

OFFICIAL ENTRIES OF PAYMENT OF ADDISON'S SALARIES.

Josepho Addison, armig. un' Princip. Secret. Statûs Sum' de 354 - 15 - 10½ pro 70 diebus super Alloc. 1850*li* per An'. à 15mo die Aprilis, 1717, exclus' ad 24 Junii sequent. inclus. Per Lras Priv. Sig. dat. 30 Aprilis, 1717.

Josepho Addison, armig. un' Princip. Secret. Statûs sum' de 462 - 10 - 0 absque comp. pro Quarter. anni 1717 super Salar. 1850*li* per an. Per Lras dat. 30 April, 1717.

Josepho Addison, armig. un' Princip. Secret. Statûssum' de 462 - 10 - 0 pro Quarter. anni 1717 super Salar. 1850*li*. Per Lras datas 30 April, 1717.

Josepho Addison nuper un' Regis Princip. Secret. sum' de 400 - 8 - 2½ pro 79 diebus super Salar. 1850*li* per an. à 25° die Decemb. exclus. 1717 ad 14 Martii sequent. inclus. quo die resignavit. Per Lras Priv. Sigill. dat. 30 April, 1717.

Josepho Addison armig. nuper un' Secret. Primar. Statûs, de feodo 100*li* per an. Per Lras Pat. gerent. dat. 15° die Aprilis, 1717, Debit. pro 333 diebus à deto 15° Aprilis, exclus. ad 14 diem Martii inclus., Anno Regni quarto. (1718.)

LORD LONDONDERRY'S APPLICATION FOR THE REPRESENTATION OF MALMESBURY, VACATED BY THE DEATH OF ADDISON.

(WITHOUT ADDRESS; PROBABLY TO THE EARL OF STANHOPE.)

MY LORD, London, June 18th, 1719.

The death of Mr. Addison is the occasion of my giving your Lordship this trouble. He was one of the Representatives for Malmesbury, a borough in Buckinghamshire,[1] entirely under the influence of the Duke of Wharton, who, I hear, is, or will be soon, at Hanover. I know not what interest your Lordship may now have in that young nobleman, therefore won't ask your Lordship to intercede for my brother the Colonel; but I take the liberty to lay before your Lordship of what great service it would be to him to bring him into the House of Commons, (amongst other things it will be a means to secure to him a qualification,) besides, I know my Lord Wharton has a friendship for him, and often promised him this good office; but all is submitted to your Lordship.

My father and the Colonel are both in Cornwall, and all your Lordship's family are well; and so wishing your Lordship a safe and quick return, I am,

With great respect, your Lordship's most obedient and most humble servant,

LONDONDERRY.

P. S. Young Mr. Pitt is not as yet gone abroad, and desires me to make his compliments acceptable to your Lordship.

THE EARL OF SUTHERLAND'S APPLICATION TO SUCCEED ADDISON IN THE EXCHEQUER.

(WITHOUT ADDRESS, BUT PROBABLY TO THE EARL OF STANHOPE.)

MY LORD, June 19th, 1719.

I congratulated your Lordship upon the 28th of May, being the auspicious day upon which our Glorious King was born, and at the same time entreated your Lordship's favour to intercede with the King for my having the Teller's place in the Exchequer, vacant by the Lord Torrington's death. I now congratulate your Lordship upon the defeat of the Rebels. Upon the Pretender's birth-day there were no highlanders with the regular troops, but some of mine, and some of the Munros. My folks were upon the right of the regular forces, and behaved themselves as if I had inspired them. My son was at Inverness where he is Sheriff, to keep matters in order there, and to have the troops supplied with necessaries from thence.

[1] His Lordship's geography is here at fault: *Malmesbury* has always been in Wiltshire.

Considering, my dear Lord, the part I have still acted, and the zeal that such of mine as were there showed, I hope the King will please to bestow upon me the post in the Exchequer now vacant by the decease of Mr. Addison.[1] I knew he was so ill he could not subsist long; but as I wished him to live, and, barring God's pleasure, thought him deserving to live, I could not ask it. I hope there is no engagement, as in the last for my Lord Chancellor's son,[2] which could not be helped. If your Lordship please to exert yourself now for me at this juncture, you cannot do it for one who has suffered or endeavoured to do more for the service, and who must be undone, if nothing be done for him. It is needless to tell you that there is none with greater sincerity, truth, and respect than I, my Lord,

Your Lordship's most faithful and most
obliged humble servant,

Marl. Street, SUTHERLAND.
19 June, 1719.

I am doing what I can to have Mr. Douglas chosen Member of Parliament for Wallingford, knowing him to be at your Lordship's disposal. Your Lordship's lady and children are, I thank God, well.

[1] What this post was we have been unable to discover. As his great friend Charles, Earl of Halifax was 'Auditor of the Receipt of the Exchequer' from 1699 till Sept. 1714, when he resigned in favour of his nephew, Addison is very likely to have obtained some office there. It could hardly be merely the 'Patent fee' which his Lordship so earnestly applies for.

[2] George Parker, afterwards Earl of Macclesfield, was admitted, July 4, 1719, under a patent in reversion, dated May 3, 1718.

[3] John Earl of Sutherland had the command of a regiment under King William and followed him through all his campaigns in Flanders. He was a Privy-councillor in the reign of Queen Anne and one of the Commissioners for the Union. After the accession of George I., on the breaking out of the Rebellion in 1715, he offered his services to raise the northern clans for Government, raised 300 men, and, joined by other Scottish chiefs, took possession of Inverness, which he successfully defended against Lord Seaforth and the Pretender's party till the Rebellion was quelled. The king gratefully acknowledged his loyalty. In 1715 he was appointed President of the Board of Trade, in 1716 was invested with the order of the Thistle, in Sept. 1747 granted a pension of £1200 per annum, and Jan. 3rd, 1721, was made a Privy-councillor. It does not appear whether he obtained the place he here prays for. Macky calls him "a very honest man, a great assertor of the liberties of the people; a great lover of his bottle and his friend; brave in his person, which he has shown in several duels; too familiar for his quality, and often keeps company below it: a fat, fair-complexioned man, forty-five years old." To which Swift adds, *A blundering, rattle-pated, drunken sot.*

ADDISON'S REPORTS OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS.[1]

TO THE EARL OF SUNDERLAND'S PRIVATE SECRETARY.
(*Probably either at Dublin or with the Earl at Bath.*)

SIR, (London,) May 17th, 1715.

I have received yours of the 14th instant, and shall be careful to observe the particulars contained in it. My Lord Halifax is very ill of a high fever. He was yesterday almost despaired of, but by the help of blisters he is at present something better. This will put a stop, for some time, to our proceedings in the Treasury. I will take care that no letter shall go from thence to Ireland, but through my Lord-Lieutenant's hands, though I remember the clerks used sometimes to play us those tricks in my Lord Wharton's time. I shall give such an answer to Mr. Gore's friends as His Excellency directs. I cannot yet find who called for the Irish pensions; if they did not come in by virtue of a General Order, it was by a Whig motion; it being supposed there is a pension, under another name, for the late Speaker,[2] as well as a very remarkable one for the late General, under his own name. Nothing in the House has yet glanced upon this subject; the paper which gives offence, and will be canvassed to-morrow, being the List of Pensions granted here to persons in high offices, and to some (as has been hinted in the House) of doubtful principles, since His Majesty's accession to the throne. Tom Onslow moved for a day to consider these pensions, seconded by Mr. Carter, and thirded by Sir Charles Hotham. They propose to themselves, as I am informed, to procure an Address to His Majesty upon this head. I shall write to the Archbishop of Dublin, pursuant to my Lord's instructions. I will speak to my Lord Halifax, as soon as it is practicable, in behalf of Mr. Loggan. His Lordship asked me some time since whether I had received any orders from my Lord-Lieutenant relating to Lord Grantham; so that I suppose nothing is as yet done in that affair; but of this I will inform you by the next post. I keep Mr. Boote's let-

[1] Addison was at this time M. P. for Malmesbury
[2] Sir Thomas Hanmer

ter by me, till the affair of Caulfield is despatched, and will then date it accordingly.

I have talked with the Bishop of Clogher about Mr. Stone. He tells me that the trustees for the forfeited impropriations are appointed by Act of Parliament, and that the bishops have no other right to vote, and act among them, than by virtue of a compliment which is always paid them by the Trustees. The manager has his constitution from the trustees, so that His Lordship is of opinion this matter cannot any way be redressed till the meeting of Parliament, when a vote may pass, that one who had such a hand in dispersing the libels, is an improper person to be employed in this office. I do not believe, that any letter from the Treasury has been sent into Ireland for making up the difference of English and Irish pay to Churchill, Primrose, Preston, Sabine, and Corbett, because my Lord-Lieutenant's Report was against it, and I fancy they would not pass by His Excellency in transmitting such an order to Ireland.

In the affair of Schuldham the same expression was made use of that the Lords Justices had used in their letter to my Lord-Lieutenant; which was likewise the case in the letter for Pitt; and you know this is the general practice; but I think they are better as they are now drawn. I have inquired into M. General Gustavus Hamilton's estate, which is said to be about 2000*li* per annum. I cannot meet with Mr. St. George, but I hear he sets out for the Bath tomorrow.

I very much rejoice in the recovery of my Lord-Lieutenant, and pray God to perfect it. I am ever, sir,

Your most faithful and most humble servant,

J. ADDISON.

P. S. Upon the Report about the Civil List there was a debate on the first question, and a division of 137 against 250, or thereabouts. The most material incident in the debate was a discovery Sir W. Wyndham made of a design to reduce the late Queen's expenses to 400,000*li* per annum; a scheme which, as he told us, he had presented to Her Majesty three days before her death. Mr. Stanhope observed with some warmth, that in this scheme there was reckoned 47,000 per annum for King James's Queen. This,

he said, was a greater discovery than they had made in the Secret Committee, and indeed explained some papers which lay before them, in which there were several obscure traces of some articles stipulated with the Court of St. Germain's. Lord Coningsby[1] aggravated this circumstance very much against Sir W. Wyndham, who was Chancellor of the Exchequer at the time this scheme was formed in the Treasury; and concluded that the honourable gentleman must expect to hear more of this another time. Sir W. W. replied that as for any article stipulated on this head he knew nothing of the matter, and was not at all concerned about it; but that the Queen Dowager having demanded this, and threatened to sue for it at law, as having been settled upon her by Act of Parliament, he thought it fit to lay before the Queen all possible expenses that might arise in the Civil List, when he had her orders to lay such a scheme before her. In this part of the debate some little raillery arose upon the Secret Committee and Mr. Stanhope's expression. Upon which Mr. Walpole advised the gentlemen to be merry upon that subject whilst they might; for that he was sure in a little time their mirth would be spoiled. He then told us of a letter he had read that very morning from Mr. Prior to the Treasurer, where, speaking of this very subject, his expression is, *If I make such an article, I shall be hanged in England; and if I do not, I had as good be hanged as stay in France.*

I write so much in haste that I wish you may understand me.

Ten o'clock. My Lord Halifax is much worse this evening than he was in the morning. He has been blooded twice this day, and we are in great pain for him.[2]

WITHOUT ADDRESS, BUT PROBABLY TO THE PRIVATE SECRETARY OF THE EARL OF SUNDERLAND.[3]

SIR, (London,) June 2nd, 1715.

The Mutiny Bill being sent from the Lords yesterday, there arose a debate upon it, whether the amendments

[1] This is the Lord Coningsby on whom Pope wrote the following Epitaph:

Here lies Lord Coningsby—be civil;
The rest God knows—so does the Devil.

[2] He died two days afterwards, May 19, 1715.

[3] The Earl was then ill at Bath. See note, p. 433.

should be then read, or whether the consideration of them should be adjourned to a further day. Mr. Pulteney showed that the amendments were of no manner of consequence, that they had been much insisted upon in another place to raise a clamour and furnish unjust suspicions, and that for these reasons they could not give too quick a despatch to them. The first amendment was defining the number of forces in Great Britain, which the Secretary at War said had been omitted as a thing of no manner of consequence, and had been omitted in former Bills, that the number of the standing army was settled by the Bill of Rights, which tied it down to such forces as should be kept up by consent of Parliament, and that this consent of Parliament appeared in the votes which make provision for such certain numbers of forces.

The debate proceeded chiefly upon the importance or insignificancy of the Lords' amendment, one side insisting upon a further day, on the first supposition, and the other upon an immediate reading, on the last. The second amendment was of the same nature with the first, in another part of the Bill. Upon a division for reading and agreeing with them, the Ayes were 248, Noes 90.

There arose an incident in the debate, which threw the House into a great ferment. Mr. Shippen[1] said that the House might very justly desire a longer time for considering a matter of so much moment, and follow the example of the Secret Committee, who had withheld so long their Report for reasons of the same nature. This being mixed with little flirts upon the committee, Mr. Boscawen said he had seen so much of the Report that, if they were willing to proceed immediately in a parliamentary way, after the manner of their ancestors on such occasions, he was ready to stand up in his place, and in the name of the Commons of England to

[1] William Shippen (at this time M. P. for Newton, Lancashire) was a firm and undisguised adherent of the Stuarts. The Court endeavoured in vain to buy him over. Of George the First he said "that the King's Speech seemed calculated rather for the meridian of *Germany* than *Great Britain*;" and that "it was a great misfortune he was a stranger both to our language and our constitution." For which he was sent to the Tower, without, however, effecting any change in him. Pope immortalizes his inflexibility in these lines:

> I love to pour out all myself as plain
> As honest Shippen or downright Montaigne.

impeach of high treason several lords and some commoners. Shippen replied that the House was very much obliged to him for any such discoveries that he had made, and thought he could not be too speedy in communicating them, and naming the several lords and commoners, whom he would impeach of high treason. Mr. Carter then desired the galleries and lobbies should be cleared and the doors shut. Upon which Mr. Walpole stood up and declared that it had been the intention of the Committee to move some time this week for a day to bring in their Report; but since gentlemen provoked them to it, they were ready to impeach, as soon as the present question was disposed of; that indeed it had taken up a great deal of time to set forth the crimes of those whose whole administration would appear to have been nothing else but a series of treachery and treason; that those who had been employed the last four years, would be shown the most profligate, Frenchified, abandoned ministers that ever endeavoured to betray their country; that they should be proved traitors by legal methods; that their friends would be ashamed to stand up in the defence of such traitors, when their guilt was laid before them; and that people would wonder they are still permitted to go about the streets. He concluded that whatever might be the expectations of this Report, it would more than answer them, when it came before the House.

Mr. Stanhope then moved, that a message should be immediately sent to the House of Lords —— but was stopped in his motion by several of his friends, who pulled him down, and by the Speaker, who desired the House to dispose of the Question before them. Upon this the division ensued, which gave both sides time to cool. Nobody afterwards calling upon the Secret Committee, the House proceeded on the orders of the day, and after having read and debated on the Reports of the Committee of Elections, came to the resolutions which you see in the votes. In two divisions the numbers were, Ayes 178, Noes 107. Ayes 174, Noes 105.

This morning Mr. Walpole acquainted the House, that the Secret Committee had prepared their Report; that it was transcribing, and that they desired the House would appoint a day for receiving it. Upon which Mr. Smith moved for this day se'nnight. Tom Onslow and Lord Guernsey,

with a few others, proposed Monday se'nnight, but as this was done only with an eye to Guildford horse-race, which this Report it seems will interfere with, the first motion took place.

The Newcastle election was tried before the House, and carried for the petitioners by 5 voices, in a very thin House.

This day (June 2nd) the Duke of Marlborough drew out his battalion of Guards in High Park, and made them a very kind speech upon the subject of their clothing. They heard him with tears in their eyes, cried out all with one voice, God bless the old Corporal their fellow-soldier, and gave him six loud huzzas, which lasted near a quarter of an hour. His Grace promised them a new clothing, (which I hear will be very much better than they ever had,) and to punish those persons who have been guilty in abusing them and him. [1]

I have spoken with Mr. S. Stanhope about Mr. Gilbert, who tells me that affair still sticks, though he seems not to know what to impute it to, and upon my speaking of Sir R. Levinge in the manner His Excellency directed, desired me to speak of it to the Duke of Marlborough and my Lord Chancellor, which I will do to-morrow, if I can possibly find an opportunity.

Two of the Secret Committee have told me in confidence that their Report is not yet finished, and will not be for three or four days. I shall, however, observe His Excellency's commands, in speaking to Mr. Walpole upon that head.

We sat so late to-day that I had not time to find out Sir Samuel Garth, but will do it to-morrow.

My Lord-Lieutenant will remember that he gave an ensign's commission in Clayton's regiment to Mr. Shuckborough's son, and that I returned the father's thanks to His

[1] This refers to the *Hanover-Shirt Story*. See *Tindal*, vol. v. 425. On the king's birth-day new clothing was delivered to the 1st regiment of Footguards, but the shirts, in particular, were so coarse that the soldiers were much offended. There being many Papists and Jacobites then in the Guards, their discontent was easily increased by the enemies of the government; so that a number of the soldiers had the insolence to throw their shirts into the king's and the Duke of Marlborough's gardens at Whitehall; after which, as they passed through the city to relieve guard at the Tower, they pulled out their shirts to the shopkeepers and passengers, crying out, *These are the Hanover shirts*, &c. The court being informed of this, and foreseeing the consequences, ordered all the new shirts to be burnt, which was done that very evening.

Excellency on that occasion, who is very highly obliged by it. His Excellency was afterwards informed by a letter, which I showed him from Lord Chancellor Justice Forster, that one Shewbridge, who is recommended as a very honest man, was to have had the profit of that commission by agreement, and that the vacancy was returned by mistake of the Muster-Master General. This has given me a great deal of uneasiness, lest on the one side Mr. Shuckborough should think I have trifled with him, or that Shewbridge should be wronged on the other. My Lord-Lieutenant promised this last gentleman to do what he could to accommodate this matter to his satisfaction, and that, at the worst, he would give him the disposal of the next vacant Colours. I am this day informed there is such a vacancy in Hill's regiment; and if His Excellency pleases to give Shuckborough this last-mentioned commission, it will be to the satisfaction of both parties.

The proper time for fixing the List of Generals will be upon the signing of the establishment. When their numbers are there inserted, and their pay specified, His Excellency may determine who shall be the persons.

I desire you never to forget my most humble duty to my Lord-Lieutenant, and am, sir,

Your most faithful and most
humble servant,

J. Addison.

WITHOUT ADDRESS, BUT PROBABLY TO THE EARL OF SUNDERLAND'S PRIVATE SECRETARY.

Sir, (London,) June 8th, 1715.

About one of the clock this afternoon, Mr. Walpole moved, that the Speaker would issue out his warrant for apprehending such persons as should be named to him by the Secret Committee, in order to be examined. Several precedents were quoted for this purpose; after which Mr. Walpole whispered to the Speaker, who thereupon gave to the Sergeant of the House two warrants, the one for Mr. Prior, and the other for Tom Harley. The former he found, the latter was not to be met with. It was then ordered that the doors should be locked, and that the Sergeant should

stand at the door of the House, and suffer no member to go out. I should have told you, this order was made before the warrants were despatched.

Mr. Walpole then read the Report, which is a history of all the transactions from the first overture of the peace to the conclusion of it. The persons accused in it, are the Lords Bolingbroke, Harley, Strafford, Ormond, with several glances upon the Bishop of London, Lord Lexington, Dartmouth, the Duke of Shrewsbury, Mat. Prior, and Arthur Moore.

Lord Bolingbroke is everywhere loaded with his correspondences with Torcy, in the greatest degree of confidence, and justly suspected of correspondences with the Pretender, by the Abbé Gaultier, whom he often refers to in his letters, as also by his acting extra-provincially, and taking upon himself the other Secretary's office in everything relating to the peace. Several expressions in his letters raised a great many Hear-him's, as these which follow: "The behaviour of the Dutch was the last convulsive pang of an expiring faction."—"I hope we shall avoid all things that may occasion a difference between the French and English ministers."—"The Dutch are like wild beasts caught in a net by England and France, and though they flounce and struggle, the cords of the toils are too hard for them, and when they are tired they will grow tame." In his letters to Prior he begins one, "This comes from Harry to Mat.," and not from the Secretary to the minister; and, speaking of Casshort's expedition on our West Indian Plantations, he says, "This proves an unfortunate contre-temps; we never thought our Colonies would be attacked at this time by Casshort's squadron. We avoided putting in execution what might have annoyed France and Spain more than anything since the beginning of the war." He means perhaps the orders which were given to Sir John Jennings (as the Report mentions in another place) not to attack the Turkey fleet, which passed by him, before the peace was concluded.

In another letter he proposes the expedient for the 9th and 10th articles of the Treaty of Commerce; which expedient was the 9th article, condemned by the last Parliament, and which, as the Report observes, was the price of Newfoundland and our fishery in those parts. In his letters to Mr. Prior are words to the following purpose: "We

stand upon the brink of a precipice, but so do they too. Tell Torcy, he may get Robin and Harry hanged; but if he does, things will go so, that he will wish them alive again."—"If the French did thus and thus, the cause of France would for once become popular in Great Britain."—"Let him remember his journey to the Hague, and compare the treaties of 1709 and 1712."—"If he does otherwise, by God both they and we are undone. I may be a refugee in France; but if I am, I promise to behave myself better than their refugees do here."—"By heavens! they treat like pedlars, or rather like attorneys," &c.

As for the late Lord Treasurer,[1] the Report takes some pains to show, that he was in all the negotiations of peace, both from what others say of him, and from what he says of himself, though I do not find that there are any letters under his own hand to the foreign ministers, the Report taking notice that, though Mr. Prior produced several of his letters to the Treasurer as answers, he has not shown any from the Treasurer to himself. It appears by these letters that he was rather a creature of Harley than of Bolingbroke. The Treasurer's letter and history of himself to the Queen, made the House exceeding merry. He seems himself to have managed the Treaty of Commerce with Spain by Gillingham, and is accused, in the Report, of having put much money into his own pocket by sham warrants.

Lord Strafford's Politics made the House laugh, as often as any passages were read in his letters, which Mr. Walpole humoured very well in the repeating of them. His advices are very bold against the allies, and particularly the Dutch, with some reflections upon Bothmar and the King himself.

The Duke of Ormond is accused of not following his first instructions, which were signed by the Queen, and by acting contrary to them on orders which were not of the same authority, being only suggested by the Secretary of State, though in the aforesaid instructions there was no direction to him to receive such orders from the Secretary. It is likewise urged against him, that he stretched even the Secretary's directions, by communicating the motions of the allies to Marshal Villars, and acting as a spy upon the confederates.

I do not remember that there is above a sentence or two

[1] The Earl of Halifax.

upon my Lord Harcourt for putting the Great Seal to the Spanish Treaty, &c.

The whole Ministry has many things objected to them in general.

The Report is not complete, there remaining several particulars to be added of the Assiento and Dunkirk, which occasioned Sir H. Bunbury to oppose the reading of it a second time till the remainder was brought in, especially since it was so late, the present Report having taken up six hours in reading. Mr. Smith moved that some part of it might have a second reading to-night, and the rest be despatched to-morrow morning; by which means (says he) we shall have time to come to some Resolutions upon it to-morrow. This alarmed the opposite party, who insisted upon the Report lying before them a few days before any Resolution should be taken upon it. Upon a division, it was carried as Mr. Smith had proposed, though some of our friends divided against it. It is not known how they will proceed to-morrow. Mr. Walpole and the Secretary are for going into the main point immediately. I find our lawyers are against it, though I believe they will not separate from the former, if they persist in that opinion.

The Report takes notice of many papers suppressed, which are referred to in the several letters. This will have a good and just effect. It was observed, that our Ministers were so wary as not to countersign anything relating to the peace. The House was particularly attentive to the affair of the Catalans,[1] which is well drawn up.

I am, sir, your most humble servant,

J. ADDISON.

THE SAME TO THE SAME.

SIR, London, June 9th, 1715.

It is now seven o'clock, and I am just come from the House, without having yet dined. I have dictated to Tom Addison so much of the Report as remains in my memory.

[1] See case of the *Catalans*, in Tindal, vol. iv. p. 215, &c. Lord Mahon says, "the treatment of that poor people by Oxford's administration is, perhaps, the foulest of all the blots upon his memory." They had first been roused to revolt at the instigation of England, and at the Peace of Utrecht their promised *Fueros* were utterly neglected.

I have endeavoured to procure a copy of it, but it is not practicable. There is but one, besides that brought into the House, which is preparing for the Prince, and it will be printed before another can be made.

J. A.

June 10th. Whilst the Report was reading by the clerk, which lasted till about four of the clock, there was a great division among our friends, whether they should adjourn the consideration of it till a future time, or proceed immediately upon it. Mr. Boscawen and the younger part of the House were very violent for the last, the lawyers and the Speaker for the former. Mr. Stanhope, upon the first settling of the committee, had unluckily promised that the House should have some days to consider of the Report, after its being brought in, which obliged him to be silent, or, if a division should happen, to leave his friends in that point. In the mean time, messages went to and fro between the opposite corners, and it was in a manner compromised to proceed on the Report upon Monday next, which was all the time the Tories then asked; but when they found the Whigs whispering very warmly among themselves, they declared they would not rest satisfied with so short a day. Upon which, our friends agreed to offer Monday, and if that was not accepted to proceed immediately.

When the Report was finished, Sir Joseph Jekyll stood up, and declared himself satisfied that there were several matters in the Report which did amount to a charge of high treason, and ended with a motion that they should be taken into consideration on Monday next. Mr. Barrington Shute spoke to the same effect, and seconded the motion.

Mr. Ward the lawyer answered, that this Report was rather a narrative of matters of fact than a charge on particular persons, and that he saw in it no crimes of a capital nature, and then moved for a longer day.

Sir Robert Raymond said it would be impossible for the Members to be masters of the Report unless they might all have the perusal of it, which could not be done, unless the Report were printed. This he said might be done by Monday, and if it were put off three or four days further every Member might be prepared to give his opinion of the facts before them.

Mr. Heysham, the City Member, said: As man's life was concerned in it, and as every one there must answer in another place for his conduct in this affair, he was for putting it off till Wednesday next.

Sir W. Whitelock seconded him, adding, that he could see nothing like high treason in the Report.

Mr. Freeman said it was the same thing whether they proceeded on it now or on Wednesday, since neither could answer the intent of such a delay; it being impossible for all the members to peruse the Report within that time; and therefore moved for Monday sevennight, observing at the same time that there was an omission in the Report of those words which directed the Duke of Ormond to correspond with the Secretary of State.

Lord Coningsby said we were to impeach, and not to judge, and cited the precedent of the Popish Plot for proceeding immediately. He put the House likewise in mind of the present day, which was the 10th of June, the birth-day of the Pretender; and as, says he, I hear there is a flag already hung out upon one of the churches, so, if you do nothing to-day, there will be a flag hung out upon every church in England.

[N. B. There was a flag hung out upon St. James's church in Clerkenwell, and ringing of bells at St. Dunstan's church.]

Sir Thomas Cross insisted upon the declared sense of the House, when Mr. Stanhope promised a longer day; and as for my Lord Coningsby, he did not question but his Lordship was prepared to give judgment without a further hearing; but as for himself, he had not his Lordship's parts and experience in parliamentary affairs; and therefore was not in a readiness to give his opinion. He concluded for Monday sevennight.

Mr. Comptroller,[1] in answer to the omission of words in the Duke of Ormond's Instructions, said they were referred to in the Reports, and placed at large in the Appendix, which contains all such original papers as were too long to be inserted in the Report. He observed that the Duke of Ormond had been visibly betrayed by the Ministers; for that in other instructions it was usual to give an express direction to obey such orders as should be received from time to time from a Secretary of State; he concluded that

[1] Sir Robert Walpole.

he did not think Monday could be of any use, and that therefore they should order the doors to be immediately shut, and proceed upon the Report.

Mr. Bromley[1] endeavoured to answer the precedent of the Popish Plot, and instanced my Lord Coningsby's own case when impeached of murder by my Lord Bellamont, when he had a reasonable time allowed him for an answer, adding, that he very well remembered this, as being one of those who had cleared the said Lord.

Lord Coningsby said if Mr. Bromley should be in the same condition he should be glad to return his civility, and to clear him too, if he should appear as innocent upon an impeachment as he himself had done.

Mr. Foley wondered at the comparison which Lord Coningsby had made between the conduct of the late ministry and the Popish Plot, endeavouring to show that, upon the worst construction, the former fell infinitely short of the latter, and that there could be no high treason found in it.

Mr. Aislabie said he would begin with the words made use of in the late Treasurer's letter as inserted in the Report, with relation to the Dutch, viz. "*The warriors are driven out of their outworks, and their last retrenchment is delay.*"

He urged that, since the private compromise for Monday next was not stood to by the gentlemen of the other corner, he thought all further delay was unreasonable; that no time ever had been given to such criminals accused to the House, as particularly in the last impeachments for the Partition-Treaty, and in the case of my Lord Danby, when impeached by Mr. Montague; and that in this Report there were matters of as high treason as were ever charged against minister;—concluding for Monday or now.

Mr. Lutwych required time for comparing the Report with the Appendix, and the Appendix with the originals, before he could find high treason; and answered to Lord Danby's case, that it proceeded only upon two short letters, which were produced by Mr. Montague, and read to the House.

Mr. Denton said that this delay till Monday next was a great indulgence to persons charged with high treason, and unnecessary in itself, being only used as a caution to prevent clamour; but, for his own part, he was neither for a delay

[1] Of Mr. Secretary Bromley, formerly Speaker, see *ante*, page 347. He appears to have been a staunch Jacobite, see Mahon, i. 47.

nor precipitation; upon which account he thought Monday next a proper time.

Sir W. Wyndham harped upon the word indulgence, asking whether it was meant from the committee to the House, or from the majority to the minority, desiring at the same time that the accused should be treated as Englishmen, and urging that the honour of the House was concerned in it; that the cause of the people was not so much interested in the Report as that of the ministry; and that he hoped nobody in this affair would be influenced by party-vengeance or private resentment.

Sir H. Bunbury spoke to the afore-mentioned precedent of my Lord Somers' impeachment, but, being mistaken in matter of fact, was set right by the Speaker.

Mr. Snell declared himself against gratifying the revengeful spirit of an angry ministry, and hoped that nobody in a case of blood would be acted by places or pensions.

General Ross said he was not ready to give his judgment in matters of life and death; that he observed a person for whom he had a great respect, the Duke of Ormond, was mentioned in the Report,—upon which, he enlarged handsomely enough on the part which his Grace had in the late Revolution, on his services under King William, on his generosity and other noble qualities: and that he hoped treason would not be charged upon him by any nice construction.

Mr. Walpole, junior, insisted much upon the words *party-vengeance, private resentment,* and *angry ministry,* adding that, if this impeachment was not proceeded upon, not only the Ministers were likely to lose their stations, but the King himself.

Sir John Stonehouse was not prepared to give his opinion, and would not pin his faith upon the Committee.

Mr. Hungerford found, by Mr. Walpole's words, that this prosecution was the prosecution of the Ministry, and that they could not keep their places without it; in which he was inclined to agree with him. He could not see by the Report that anybody was guilty of treason, except the Abbé Gaultier, who was to transact, by word of mouth, everything for the Pretender.

Mr. Walpole senior, showed the present demand of time not only to be unprecedented but unnecessary, by explain-

ing the manner of an impeachment, which gave time for preparing evidence, and drawing up Articles, that might be debated when they were brought into the House. He then showed the candid manner in which the impeachment had been drawn up, and how every part of the Committee's observations were framed in the very words of those original papers referred to in the Appendix. He showed that the delay till Monday next, like the rest of the proceedings of that House in this matter, was the greatest indulgence to the greatest offenders; that several points of high treason were exhibited against them, and several, if possible, greater than high treason itself, being crimes of such a nature as the laws had not provided against, because they did not suppose any could be guilty of them; that there were more crimes specified in this Report than were ever carried up to the bar of the House of Lords, since the Restoration; and that there was sufficient evidence to convict the criminals in any other court of justice. He observed, at the same time, the miserable shifts which the friends of the late Ministry were driven to; when the best they can hope for is, that they are only guilty of high crimes and misdemeanours; and when they are forced to make it their triumph in coffee-houses and ordinary conversation, that the Report only proves them guilty of high crimes and misdemeanours, but does not quite extend to high treason. He then declared himself sorry that the criminals must answer for their offences in a capital manner, concluding that if a short day will satisfy them he would be for Monday; otherwise, for proceeding on it immediately.

Sir George Beaumont descanted upon the unreasonableness of relying upon the report of others, especially of a Committee of twenty-one persons, among whom there were seventeen of the Ministry.

Mr. Smith said if these were of the present Ministry, Sir George himself was of the last Ministry; and therefore it was no wonder he should be for putting off the proceedings upon this Report; he was against the printing of it in the manner proposed, as unparliamentary; for that it was giving the world an opportunity of passing their judgment upon it before the House. He declared he had never read, from his infancy, such a history of treason and iniquity; that

it appeared by it that all had been given up industriously and designedly to the enemy, and that they ought to proceed upon it now, if Monday was not accepted.

Mr. Harley said the honour and justice of the House were more concerned in this question than the persons accused. As for them, he thought the sooner they gave satisfaction to the House upon such accusations the better for them. He then observed there never had been an accusation in Parliament with relation to a Peace; adding that, when this was made, we were reduced to the utmost necessities, and that the whole nation groaned for it. He urged that this would have greater weight with it if it was brought in deliberately and upon mature consideration, which was the more necessary, because the Report contained in it matters which had a relation to all Europe.

Mr. Pulteney said that, notwithstanding the opinion he had always entertained of the late Ministry, he did not think such crimes could have come out against them as appeared in the Report; that in matters of this nature every Member had a right to stand up in his place and immediately impeach. He put the case—that if several persons should be present at a meeting to treat of a peace without a sufficient authority from their Prince, and that afterwards they should procure a warrant to be antedated in order to justify such a meeting; whether or no any Member might not be at liberty to stand up and impeach such persons?

[N. B. This was the case of the late Ministry,—the Lords Bolingbroke, Treasurer, Chamberlain, Privy Seal, and Mr. Prior,[1] having treated with Monsieur Mesnager at Mr. Prior's lodgings, and formed special preliminaries, before they had received any warrant from the Queen for so doing; as appears by a letter from Lord Bolingbroke to Her Majesty, in which was enclosed a warrant for the Royal signature, antedated three days before it could be signed.]

Mr. Archer repeated the reasons urged by others for a longer day, and moved for Thursday next.

Mr. Lawson insisted on Monday sevennight; by which time there might be printed a sufficient number of copies for Members, and for them only; assuring the House that he did not propose this to throw cold water upon the Re-

[1] See Prior's account of this affair in *Parl. Hist.* vii. App. No. 2; Tindal, iv. p. 426, *et seq.*; Lord Mahon's Hist. Eng. vol. i.

port, as some gentlemen had expressed themselves; for if the matters contained in it were fairly stated, I am sure (says he) all the Thames would not be sufficient to wash away the guilt of them.

The question was then put upon Monday sevennight, which very fortunately united those who might have separated from one another, had it been put for the Monday next ensuing.

Ayes, 160.
Noes, 280.

The Division, for reading a second time the Report before the House should rise, was:

Ayes, 282.
Noes, 172.

Mr. Walpole, after the division, none of the Tories laying in their claim for Monday next, stood up in his place, and, having prefaced his discourse with his natural aversion to everything that looked cruel, declared that he did a great violence to himself in acting as chairman of the Secret Committee, which obliged him to impeach that person, whom, of all the late ministry, (upon personal and private considerations,) he would have been most inclined to spare, representing him as an unfortunate young man, that fell into the hands of one who would sacrifice everything and all his friends, to keep his post. He then impeached the Lord Bolingbroke of high treason and other high crimes and misdemeanours upon the following heads:

1st, For betraying to Monsieur Torcy[1] the instructions given to Lord Strafford in 1711. He took up some time in explaining this article, in which there appeared very aggravating circumstances. Among the rest he observed that the special preliminaries were signed with France four days before my Lord Strafford was instructed to give assurances to the States of acting in concert with them for making a peace, or carrying on the war.

2ndly, For sending an order to the Duke of Ormond neither to engage in any siege nor hazard a battle, which he showed was contrary to the Duke's instructions, and to Her Majesty's declared sense to the States, and that this order was communicated to the Marshal Villars and Abbé Gaultier.

3rdly, For instructing the Duke of Ormond to direct his

[1] The Marquis de Torcy, plenipotentiary from the king of France.

conduct by such instructions as he should receive from the court of France by the hands of Marshal Villars.

Under this head, he took occasion to pity the Duke of Ormond, who had been all along so much abused and misled by his friends; representing him as acting, by the same advice, the same part now which he did at that time, being set up as the idol of the rabble, and made a tool of, for carrying on the designs of contriving men.

4thly, For giving his advice, in his private capacity, how Tournay might be got for France, contrary to what the Queen had declared in her speech to the parliament. This advice appears in a letter to Mr. Prior, which he is desired to consider as a letter from Harry to Matt, and not from the secretary to the minister.

5thly, For sending orders to the Duke of Ormond to secure Ghent and Bruges, at the desire of the French minister.

6thly, For holding a private correspondence with Torcy, in relation to the Pretender.

Under this head, it appeared there was a public and a private letter from Lord Bolingbroke to Torcy, and references on either side to verbal conferences with Abbé Gaultier.

7thly, For sending orders to Sir John Jennings not to intercept the French fleet in the Mediterranean. This letter was sent before the suspension of arms by land and sea was signed; and some time after this sparing of the French fleet, Cassart made his expedition upon our colonies in the West Indies.

As for high crimes and misdemeanours, they are so very numerous, that Mr. Walpole desired he might be excused upon that head till another time, being very much fatigued with what he had already gone through. He did, indeed, even outdo himself on this occasion, and raised the greatest and justest indignation that I ever yet saw in a House of Commons. He concluded with the motion that the House do impeach, &c.

When Mr. Walpole had finished his speech, and had been seconded by the Secretary, there was a great silence in the House, till Mr. Smith stood up and desired that, if any gentleman was not satisfied with the motion, he would make his objections to it.

After another pause, the Speaker was going to propose

the question, but was interrupted by Sir Joseph Jekyll, who thought himself obliged to give some reasons for having said, in the former part of the debate, that there were matters of high treason in the Report. He considered the charge against Lord Bolingbroke first in a moral and then in a legal view. Upon the first head, he represented with some horror the conduct of the late ministry, and of Lord Bolingbroke in particular, which was a continued design of delivering up the faith, the honour, and interest of his country to France; to which he added the compassionable case of the Catalans, in which we saw the utter extinction of the liberties of a free and brave people. He then confirmed what Mr. Walpole had before said,—that there were some crimes, which the law had not a notion of, and therefore had not provided against. He afterwards considered this matter in a legal view, applying to the several particulars the statute of 25 of Edward III., by which he made out the treason charged upon the accused person, in the particulars abovementioned, which were so many species of aiding, abetting, or comforting the queen's enemies.

Mr. Hungerford made a rambling speech upon the occasion, representing all the treason, if there were such, to have been committed against the Dutch and our allies, who, he hoped, were not to be looked upon as our sovereigns, with other reflections of the same nature, and as little to the subject.

General Rosse declared himself an incompetent judge of such matters, and dissatisfied with the answers made by Mr. Hungerford, desiring at the same time, that gentlemen would not be silent in such a case, who had anything to say upon it; for that otherwise he should think himself obliged, when there was an accusation of high treason before him, to divide on the side of the accusers; though he would not thereby preclude himself from better information, in case he should receive it, upon the bringing of the articles and evidence into the House.

The question was then proposed by the Speaker, and passed without a division, and with but few noes to it.

The Lord Coningsby then stood up, to impeach the Treasurer;[1] his speech was very warm, but appeared too loose, after the clear and close reasoning of Mr. Walpole.

[1] Harley, Earl of Oxford, was appointed Lord High Treasurer of

1. He said he was sorry to have a share in this impeachment, not for the sake of the person to be impeached, but for the sake of his country, which had so much suffered by him.

That, as the other gentleman had impeached the pupils, he would impeach the master; as the other had impeached the hand, he would impeach the head; as the other had impeached the clerk, he would impeach the justice.

2. He then mentioned the strict and close friendship of the Treasurer with Mr. Prior, and of Mr. Torcy's joy expressed in one of his letters, that he should again see Mr. Prior. Upon which he told the House, what King William had told him and several others, namely, that Mr. Prior and my Lord Jersey had endeavoured to persuade him, that he should stipulate with France to give way to the Pretender's succession after the death of Queen Anne. To which the King answered, he could never agree to betray his people.

3. He quoted a passage out of the Treasurer's own letter to the Queen, which is inserted in the Report, where the Treasurer declares, that the negotiations of peace were transacted by his own house, and partly by his own purse. He accused him of treason, as having agreed to the special preliminaries above mentioned, and concerted with a French minister; without any authority from the Queen, which was procured afterwards. He likewise explained to the House how the Treasurer had appropriated to his own use 13,000*li*, and that the Queen's warrant for that purpose had been sent into the Treasury but very lately, (I think he said this very morning,) since the discoveries that the Secret Committee had made of this matter. [(*In margin*) I since hear the Lords of the Treasury have refused to receive this warrant, or let it be entered in their books, as being sent to them but yesterday.] He concluded with a motion for impeachment.

Sir David Dalrymple seconded the motion, and drew up his accusation in a more close manner, insisting particularly upon the special preliminaries as before-mentioned, which he aggravated from the consideration of their ill consequences, which were no less than aggrandizing France, dissolving the

Great Britain, May 29, 1711, (two months after Guiscard's attempt upon his life,) and on the 1st June took the oath of office in the Court of Chancery, attended by all the chief nobility of the kingdom.

alliance, aiding and comforting the Queen's enemies in the highest degree, as well as from the unwarrantable method in concerting them.

Mr. Foley began, with declaring that he would never forsake his friends, that he could see no instance in which he had betrayed his country. He then answered some reflections made use of by Lord Coningsby, which represented the Treasurer as a very inconsiderable man, before he was advanced to that post. As for the 13,000*li*, he said it was a gift the Queen made him, immediately after his receiving the stab from Guiscard,[1] and that it was much less than had been usually given to Treasurers.

Candles were now brought in.

Mr. Walpole stated the crimes of the Treasurer in a better method than had been done before, concluding with the words the Treasurer had formerly made use of, when Speaker, after they had impeached my Lord Portland, and struck at my Lord Somers; that now the axe was laid to the root, and that the House had done nothing, if they did not impeach the Lord before them.

Mr. Harley made a speech to show the merits of his brother, which, he said, might be discovered by comparing the condition of the nation when he came into the Treasury, with what he brought it to. He mentioned in particular the great fall of credit, the sinking of the funds, which he raised by his project of the South Sea stock, and other measures. He then showed how the shipping had increased under his administration, and the quantities of money that had been coined.

Sir Gilbert Heathcote told the House, that he indeed found the credit sunk, but that it never began to sink till it was known that he had found the way to the Queen up the back stairs. And (says he) the time it began to fall was, when my Lord Sunderland was removed from his post; so that it was visibly occasioned by the late Treasurer's clandestine management, though some time before he appeared at the head of the Treasury.

He then set forth the true reasons of our abounding with

[1] The Marquis of Guiscard, a French Papist, suspected of treasonable practices, while under examination before the privy-council, stabbed Harley with a penknife. He was instantly secured and sent to Newgate, where he died about a week after his committal.

money during the Treasurer's administration, which was not at all owing to his management, but to our trade with Portugal, which he afterwards endeavoured to destroy, by driving them to side with France.

Mr. Vernon the merchant endeavoured to answer Sir Gilbert.

Sir J. Jekyll represented the high crimes and misdemeanours of the late Treasurer in the blackest colours, and with great applause; but as for the high treason, said he had some doubts, as not being satisfied that my Lord Bolingbroke's letter, which was the only evidence of it, was a sufficient evidence in law.

Mr. Stanhope said there was a person now in custody (meaning Prior) who, he had reason to believe, would be a corroborating evidence, and at the same time reasoned for the sufficiency of what they already possessed. He then enlarged on several crimes of this Minister, particularly on his advising the Queen to utter falsehoods from the throne, which he said tended to destroy the confidence between the sovereign and the people, and to expose the prince to the contempt of his subjects. He likewise represented the perniciousness of the special preliminaries, which made the Ministry tools to the French in all the succeeding negotiation, and bound them down to everything they proposed, for fear they should divulge the secret either to their fellow-subjects or their allies. He showed how the ruin of our trade with Spain and Portugal were the natural fruits of these preliminaries, and all this with a warmth which raised a great spirit in the House.

Mr. Hungerford objected to the corroborating evidence, which was only expected, and was not yet before the House.

The Solicitor-general then closed the debate in a speech which gained him great reputation. He showed that it was necessary to produce the same evidence for an impeachment as for the trial or judgment of a criminal; but that it was sufficient if, upon the general view of the Report, there was thought reason enough to impeach. He then endeavoured to prove the sufficiency of the present evidence, the letter not being that of a private person, but of a Secretary of State, who is the clerk of the Cabinet, and that such a letter is to be regarded as a kind of record. He afterwards aggra-

vated the treason of a first Minister, from the ill consequences it must have upon the public more than the treason of a private person, and concluded that, though he thought this evidence sufficient, he did not question but there would be more to enforce it.

The question was then put, and passed also without a division.

The rest may be seen in the votes.

The House was not up before eleven of the clock at night.

(*Endorsed*) Debate upon bringing in the Report of the Secret Committee, June 10, 1715.

TO THE EARL OF SUNDERLAND'S PRIVATE SECRETARY (MR. DELAFAYE).

SIR, June 16th, 1715.

I have just now received your letter of the 13th, and am obliged to my Lord-Lieutenant for his kind acceptance of the accounts which I send him from hence. I will wait on the Duke of Argyle to-morrow in conformity with His Excellency's directions.

The yesterday's vote relating to the Justices of Peace for Middiesex, who are of the Secret Committee, was made with an eye to Mr. Prior, in hopes to fetch the truth out of him; for I hear he has hitherto been very dry in his evidence. It was opposed at first, till my Lord Coningsby produced a precedent from the Popish Plot, in justification of the motion which was made by Mr. Walpole.

In the Committee for supply, upon the motion to pay the forces which were in the Queen's service and refused to march with the Duke of Ormond after the cessation of arms, Mr. Shippen revived the old cant in treating them as deserters. Upon which Mr. Walpole showed, out of one of the Lord Strafford's letters mentioned in the Report, that this happy thought of turning the desertion upon the troops in the Queen's pay was hinted to the Ministry here by that able statesman. This gave an occasion to Mr. Shippen to reflect upon the Report, terming it the Infallible Book and the Book of Martyrs, out of which the gentleman that had

spoken fetched all his authorities and quotations, before any of the House had read it over, or could be judges of what was contained in it. After which the Committee proceeded without interruption.

Mr. Prior has been this morning five hours together under the examination of seven select members of the Committee; but what is the result I cannot hear.

I am informed by one of the Committee, that Sir J. Jekyll insists upon the Attorney-General being added to their number, and will not come to their meetings himself because they will not listen to him in this particular. They have agreed, if nothing intervenes, to impeach to-morrow the Duke of O(rmon)d of high treason, and the Earl of St(raff)rd of high crimes and misdemeanours. The former will be impeached by Mr. Stanhope, to be seconded by the Comptroller, the latter by Mr. Aislabie, to be seconded by my Lord Finch. The Solicitor-General and Mr. Denton spoke in the Committee, for postponing the impeachment of the Duke of O(rmon)d, but were overruled. It is generally observed that the spirit of the Tories very much flags since the bringing in of the Report.

I must not omit informing you that yesterday Mr. Brodrick, who is a busy man in the Committee for preventing the exportation of wool, told me that it was the opinion of most of them, that it would be for the good of England and Ireland to abolish the duty upon wool-licences, which is paid to the chief governor of Ireland,[1] and to address His Majesty to make it good to him out of the Irish revenue by an equivalent. I told him that your perquisites arose out of the fee upon the wool-licences, which, he said, he knew very well, and had acquainted the Committee with it, who were therefore all of opinion that yours should still be paid. I asked if he had concerted this measure with H(is) E(xcellency); he told me, no, but that he was sure H. E. would approve of it. I answered, however that might be, I thought he should be first acquainted with it. I hope my Lord-Lieutenant will be here soon enough to concert this affair; and, in the mean time, thought it my duty to give him this intimation.

Mr. Molesworth and Mr. Holt lose their cause in the

[1] The Earl of Sunderland.

election of Aldborough, upon the Report which was made this day. It was thought a very poor cause by many who voted for it, and, none of the Secret Committee being there, nor caring to appear in it, we were but 97 to 129. The chairman to the Committee of elections spoke against us.

I am, sir,

Your most faithful and most humble servant,

J. ADDISON.

TO MR. DELAFAYE,[1]

(LORD SUNDERLAND'S PRIVATE SECRETARY.)

SIR, (London,) June 18th, 1715.

You see in yesterday's votes Mr. Walpole's motion relating to Prior, which passed without opposition. Several wish that it had been made sooner; for Ned Harley has been with him since his being taken into custody, as were the Earl of Oxford and his son the night before he was examined. The son's waiting upon his father on this occasion made it believed there were articles stipulated with the prisoner.

When the order of the day was read, Mr. Bromley said they were still at a loss as to the matters contained in the Report, the printed copies not being yet given to the members, and the original having been removed from the table for some time, in order, as he supposed, to compare the printed copies with it. He therefore hoped the proceeding upon it would be put off to Monday or Tuesday next.

Mr. Smith seconded this motion, not because the printed copies were not yet given out, which, he said, was but of late usage and unparliamentary, but because the original had been removed from the table. Mr. Walpole acquainted the House of some omissions and mistakes which had been made in the printed Report, and had delayed the giving of it out, as was intended, and moved the taking of it into consideration on Tuesday next.

I send my Lord-Lieutenant a correct copy with the appendix by this post, there having been several errata of the press in that which I lately transmitted to His Excellency.

[1] Charles de la Faye was appointed Earl Sunderland's private secretary Sept., 1714.

I this night send away the warrant for appointing Mr. Gilbert Lord Chief Baron,[1] the term being so near at hand, and the gentlemen of Ireland representing the necessity of such a despatch. I have enclosed a copy of it to my Lord-Lieutenant.

I this morning received a small packet from Ireland, which is likewise enclosed.

I have great difficulties with myself in relation to the Duke of Ormond. When I was of the University, of which he is Chancellor, I was favoured with his countenance and encouragement. When he succeeded my Lord Wharton in Ireland he resisted many solicitations which were made for the place I have ever since enjoyed in that kingdom. I shall never pardon myself if I give a vote that may have a tendency to the taking off his head, and have reason to believe my Lord-Lieutenant would condemn me for such a piece of ingratitude. I do not remember that, since I have been in the House, I have separated from my friends in a single vote; and all I propose to do in this case, is to be absent as by accident, if this impeachment goes on. I desire you to acquaint His Excellency with this particular, that it may not make any impression with him to my disadvantage.

I am, sir, your most faithful
humble servant,
J. ADDISON.

Mr. Delafaye.

IMPEACHMENT OF HARLEY.[2]

SIR, (Whitehall,) Thursday night, June 13th, 1717.

I am commanded by Mr. Secretary Addison to acquaint you that you are desired to meet some other members

[1] Jeffrey Gilbert, then second Puisne Justice in Ireland, removed to England and made Chief Baron of the Exchequer.

[2] Harley had been impeached, June 10, 1715, and committed to the Tower. On his way thither he was attended by an immense multitude, loudly exclaiming, "High Church and Oxford for ever." After having suffered two years' imprisonment he petitioned to be brought to trial, and to the great discomfiture of many of the Whigs, especially the Marlborough party, was honourably acquitted by his Peers, July 1, 1717. The circumstances are interesting; see them in *Tindal*, iv. 427, 546; Lord Mahon, vol. i. 415, &c

of parliament at his office to-morrow at ten in the forenoon, to consult upon certain matters relating to the impeachment of the Earl of Oxford.

I am
Your most obedient and humble servant,

Secretary's Office. CH. DELAFAYE.

To Mr. Walpole, comptroller.
Sir Joseph Jekyll.
Mr. Lechmere.
Mr. Cooper.
Mr. Carter.
Mr. Baillie.
Serjeant Pengelly.
Serjeant Reynolds.
Mr. Aislabie.
Mr. Craggs, Secretary at War.

Mem. Sent Mr. Addison an account of; he being then at Holland House.

ADDISONIANA.

ADDISON'S FATHER.

"The Reverend Lancelot Addison, though eclipsed by his more celebrated son, made some figure in the world, and occupies with credit two folio pages in the Biographia Britannica. Lancelot was sent up, as a poor scholar, from Westmoreland to Queen's College, Oxford, in the time of the Commonwealth, made some progress in learning, became, like most of his fellow-students, a violent Royalist, lampooned the heads of the University, and was forced to ask pardon on his bended knees. When he had left college, he earned a humble subsistence by reading the liturgy of the fallen church to the families of those sturdy squires whose manor-houses were scattered over the Wild of Sussex. After the Restoration, his loyalty was rewarded with the post of chaplain to the garrison of Dunkirk. When Dunkirk was sold to France, he lost his employment. But Tangier had been ceded by Portugal to England as part of the marriage-portion of the Infanta Catherine; and to Tangier Lancelot Addison was sent. A more miserable situation can hardly be conceived. It was difficult to say whether the unfortunate settlers were more tormented by the heats or by the rains, by the soldiers within the wall or by the Moors without it." *Macaulay.*—He came back to England after some years of banishment about the beginning of 1671, and was soon after presented to the small rectory of Milston near Amesbury, in Wiltshire, whither he retired. (His son Joseph was born here in 1672.) After this period he rose to eminence, and became one of the Royal Chaplains, a Doctor of Divinity, Archdeacon of Salisbury, and Dean of Lichfield.

STORY OF ADDISON WHEN A BOY.

In the town where Addison was born is the following tradition of a curious excursion made by him when a boy:—Being at a country school, he committed some slight fault; for which his fear of being corrected was so great, that he ran away from his father's house, and fled into the fields, where he lived upon fruits, and took up his lodging in a hollow tree, till, upon the publication of a reward to whoever should find him, he was discovered and restored to his parents.

"If these stories be true," says Macaulay, "it would be curious to know by what moral discipline so mutinous and enterprising a lad was transformed into the gentlest and most modest of men."

ADDISON'S SCHOOL FROLIC.

Dr. Johnson tells the following story of Addison, when a boy at school. "The practice of *barring-out* was a savage licence, practised in many schools to the end of the last century, by which the boys, when the periodical vacation drew near, growing petulant at the approach of liberty, some days before the time of regular recess took possession of the school, of which they barred the doors, and bade their master defiance from the windows. It is not easy to suppose that on such occasions the master would do more than laugh; yet, if tradition may be credited, he often struggled hard to force or surprise the garrison. The master, when Pigot was a school-boy, was *barred-out* at Lichfield, and the whole operation, as he said, was planned and conducted by Addison."

ADDISON'S EARLY MERIT.

Mr. Addison became a demy of Magdalen College in Oxford, by merit, at the age of seventeen (July, 1689). He took the degree of Master of Arts, Feb. 14th, 1693, and obtained his fellowship in 1698. In the following year[1] he set

[1] Addison set out from *London* in the autumn of 1699, and from *Marseilles* for Italy in December, 1700, as his letters show. But his own account has "On the 12th of December, 1699, I set out from Marseilles to Genoa," a slip of the pen which has escaped all Addison's editors and biographers, till pointed out by Mr. Macaulay.

out on his travels. Those who remember him at college affirm that his temper was the same it appeared ever afterwards; that is to say, his abilities were exceeded by nothing but his modesty.

A walk with rows of trees along the side of the college-meadow, is still pointed out as his favourite haunt; it continues to bear his name, and some of the trees are supposed to have been planted by him. [It is said that he obtained his election into Magdalen College by the merit of his *Inauguratio Regis Gulielmi*, 1689; which see, *ante*, p. 546.]

ADDISON, AN 'OXFORD COACH.'

THE following paragraph occurs in a letter from Mr. (afterwards Bp.) Smalridge to Mr. Gough, preserved in Bp. Atterbury's Correspondence: "Sir John Harper is under Mr. Addison's care at Magdalene." The letter is undated, but was most probably written about the year 1690.—It appears also, from documents communicated to Miss Aikin by Lord Northwick, that Sir James Rushout (born 1676, died 1705) was for some time under the tuition of Addison, no doubt at Oxford. Philip Frowde (as is stated at page 324) was another of Addison's Oxford pupils.

ADDISON ORIGINALLY INTENDED FOR THE CHURCH.

"MR. ADDISON (says Mr. Whiston) was brought up at Oxford with intention to take holy orders; and I have heard it said that the Saturday papers in his famous Spectator, which are generally on religious subjects, were intended originally for sermons when he should be in holy orders. However his parts appeared so promising to the Lord Halifax, and Lord Chancellor Somers, that they diverted him from his purpose, and procured him £400 a year[1] of King William, to enable him to improve himself by travelling,—yet he retained such a great regard for the Christian religion, that before he died he began to read the ancient fa-

[1] The amount of this pension has been variously stated, and Addison, in his Memorial, says, it was only paid for half a year. We have not been able to find any official papers respecting it, but have met with a grant of King William's, dated June 1, 1699, to —Addison, Esq., of the sum of £200, not as a pension, but as "free gift and royal bounty;" payable out of "any treasure or revenue remaining in our exchequer applicable to the uses of the civil government." It is signed *Montague, Tankerville, Fox, Smith, Boyle.*

thers of the three first centuries; and the last of them that I know of his reading, was Justin Martyr, the first of the heathen philosophers that became a Christian and a martyr."

THE KIT-CAT CLUB.

THIS society is said to have first met (about 1700) at an obscure house in Shire Lane, and consisted of thirty-nine noblemen and gentlemen, zealously attached to the Hanoverian (or Protestant) succession, amongst whom were the Dukes of Somerset, Richmond, Grafton, Devonshire, and Marlborough, and (after the accession of George I.) the Duke of Newcastle; the Earls of Dorset,[1] Sunderland, Manchester, Wharton, and Kingston; Lords Halifax and Somers; Sir Robert Walpole, Vanbrugh, Congreve, Granville, Addison, Steel, Garth, Maynwaring, Stepney, and Walsh. The club is supposed to have derived its name from *Christopher Cat*, a pastry-cook, who kept the house where they dined, and excelled in making mutton-pies, which always formed a part of their bill of fare. In the Spectator, No. IX., they are said to have had their title, not from the maker of the pie, but the pie itself. The fact is that, on account of its excellence, it was called a *Kit-cat*, as we now say a *Sandwich*. So in the Prologue to the *Reformed Wife*, a comedy, 1700:

> "Often for change the meanest things are good:
> Thus, though the town all delicacies afford,
> A *Kit-cat* is a supper for a lord."

In an Epigram, supposed to have been written by Arbuthnot, the club is thus ridiculed:

> "Whence deathless *Kit-cat* took its name,
> Few critics can unriddle;
> Some say from pastry-cook it came,
> And some from Cat and Fiddle.
> From no trim beaus its name it boasts,
> Grey statesmen or green wits;
> But from its pell-mell pack of toasts,
> Of Old Cats and young Kits."

THE KIT-CAT AT HAMPSTEAD.

SIR Richard Steele, at one part of his life, resided occasionally at a small house on Haverstock Hill, in the road to Hampstead. At this time the Kit-cat Club held their sum-

[1] The Mæcænas of the wits of that day; he was one of the earliest members of the club.

mer meetings at the Upper Flask,[1] on Hampstead Heath; and Addison, Pope, or some other of his friends, used to call on Steele and take him to the place of rendezvous.

The Kit-cat Club took its name from one Christopher Cat, maker of their mutton-pies. The portraits of its members were drawn by Kneller, who was himself one of their number; and all portraits of the same dimensions and form are to this day called kit-cat pictures. This club was originally formed in Shire Lane, about the time of the Trial of the seven bishops, for a little free evening conversation, professedly on literature and the fine arts, but secretly[2] to promote the Hanoverian succession. In Queen Anne's reign, the club comprehended upwards of forty noblemen and gentlemen of the first rank for quality, merit, and fortune, chiefly of Whig principles.

TONSON AND THE KIT-CAT.

You have heard of the Kit-cat Club. The master of the house where the club met was Christopher Cat. Tonson was secretary.

The day Lord Mohun and the Earl of Berkeley were entered of it, Jacob said he saw they were just going to be ruined. When Lord Mohun broke down the gilded emblem on the top of *his* chair, Jacob complained to his friends, and said that a man who would do that, would cut a man's throat. —So that he had the good and the forms of the society much at heart.

[Pope remembers having seen a paper in Lord Halifax's hand-writing, of a subscription of four hundred guineas for the encouragement of good comedies; it was dated 1709.]

Soon after that they broke up.—Steele, Addison, Congreve, Garth, Vanbrugh, Maynwaring, Stepney, Walpole, and Pultney were of it; so was Lord Dorset, and the present Duke. Manwaring, whom we hear nothing of now, was the ruling man in all conversations; indeed, what he wrote had very little merit in it.—Lord Stanhope and the Earl of Essex were also members. Jacob has his own and all their pictures, by Sir

[1] There is a view of this tavern, as well as of Steele's College at Haverstock Hill, in Smith's Curiosities. 4to, *Bohn*.

[2] Horace Walpole says, "the Kit-cat club, generally mentioned as a set of Wits, in reality THE PATRIOTS THAT SAVED BRITAIN."

Godfrey Kneller. Each member gave him his, and he is going to build a room for them at Barn Elms.—*Spence.*

KIT-CAT TOASTS.

ADDISON became a member of the Kit-cat Club in 1703. It was the custom of the wits who composed it to celebrate the several beauties they toasted in verse, which they wrote on their drinking glasses. Among these ingenious pieces, which were so many epigrams (preserved in Dryden's Miscellanies), is one by Addison on the Lady Manchester, which is given at our page 228.

The custom of *toasting* ladies after dinner, peculiar to the Kit-cat Club, and the society out of which it was originally formed, viz. "The Knights of the Toast," is thus alluded to in No. 24 of the Tatler. "Though this institution had so trivial a beginning, it is now elevated into a formal order, and that happy virgin, who is received and drank to at their meetings, has no more to do in this life but to judge and accept of the first good offer. The manner of her inauguration is much like that of the choice of a Doge in Venice; it is performed by ballotting; and when she is so chosen, she reigns indisputably for that ensuing year; but she must be elected anew to prolong her empire a moment beyond it. When she is regularly chosen, her name is written with a diamond on one of the drinking-glasses. The hieroglyphic of the diamond is to show her that her value is imaginary; and that of the glass, to acquaint her that her condition is frail, and depends on the hand which holds her."

Kit-cat Memoirs, p. 5.

EUSTACE BUDGELL.

BUDGELL, "a young Templar of some literature," author of many of the papers in the Spectator, was the first cousin to Mr. Addison, to whom he had been introduced on his coming to town. Mr. Addison, perceiving in young Budgell a love of polite learning, assisted him with his advice in the course of his study, and honoured him with his friendship.

When Mr. Addison was appointed secretary to Lord Wharton, in April, 1710, he offered his friend Budgell the place of clerk in his office, which he accepted, and this was his first introduction to public notice.

Mr. Budgell is said to have contributed to the Tatler; but his papers are not ascertained. In the Spectator he had the most considerable share after Steele and Addison. The papers marked with the letter X are all written by Mr. Budgell. He also wrote those papers in the Guardian distinguished by an asterisk.

EPILOGUE TO THE DISTRESSED MOTHER.

THIS admired epilogue is, in the last paper of the seventh volume of the Spectator, ascribed to Mr. Budgell. It was known, however, in Tonson's family, and told to Mr. Garrick, that Addison was himself the author of this epilogue;[1] and that when it was actually printed with his name he came early in the morning before the copies were distributed, and ordered it to be given to Mr. E. Budgell, that it might add weight to the solicitation which Addison was then making for a place for Mr. Budgell, whom he used to denominate "the man who calls me cousin." Dr. Johnson says "this was the most successful composition of the kind ever yet spoken in the English language. The first three nights it was recited twice, and not only continued to be demanded through the run, as it was termed, of the play, but whenever it is recalled to the stage—where by a peculiar fortune, though a copy from the French, it keeps its place—the Epilogue is still expected, and still spoken."

DEATH OF EUSTACE BUDGELL.

THE termination of this gentleman's life was truly deplorable. From a variety of imprudences—upon which it would be painful to dwell—he was reduced to great distress in his circumstances.[2] His miserable condition preyed so on his mind, that he became visibly deranged. He in 1736 took a

[1] The Epilogue (printed at p. 229 of the present volume) is believed to have been written by Budgell, and merely corrected by Addison.

[2] He publicly alludes to this in the preface to his 'Memoirs of the Family of the Boyles,' published 1732. "Suffer me, my Lord, under all my misfortunes, to reflect with some little satisfaction, perhaps with a secret pride, that I have not been thought unworthy the friendship of a Halifax, an Addison, and an Orrery." It is in this volume that Budgell records the famous conversation before Lords Halifax and Godolphin, (cited in a succeeding page,) which led to the writing of "the Campaign."

boat at Somerset-stairs, having previously loaded his pocket with stones. He ordered the waterman to shoot the bridge and while the boat was passing under the arch, threw himself into the river and perished immediately.

Till after the death of Addison there was no stain on the character of Budgell, and it is not improbable that his career would have been prosperous and honourable, if the life of his cousin had been prolonged. But when the master was laid in the grave, the disciple broke loose from all restraint, descended rapidly from one degree of vice and misery to another, ruined his fortune by follies, attempted to repair it by crimes, and at length closed a wicked and unhappy life by self-murder. Yet, to the last, the wretched man, gambler, lampooner, cheat, forger, as he was, retained his affection and veneration for Addison, and recorded those feelings in the last lines which he traced before he hid himself from infamy under London Bridge:

> "What Cato did, and Addison approved,
> Cannot be wrong."

This however, as far as respects Addison's approval, was a mere delusion of his own brain.

SMITH.[1]

One evening, when Smith was sitting with a friend at a tavern, he was called down by the waiter; and, having staid some time below, came up thoughtful. After a pause, said he to his friend, "He that wanted me below was Addison, whose business was to tell me that a History of the Revolution was intended, and to propose that I should undertake it. I said, 'What shall I do with the character of Lord Sunderland?' and Addison immediately returned, 'When, Rag,[2] were you drunk last?' and went away."

CRAGGS.

Mr. Craggs (one of Addison's early companions, and to whom, a few days before his death, he dedicated his works) was ashamed of the meanness of his birth, which Mr. Addison has properly styled a *vicious modesty;* for his father, though by merit raised to be postmaster-general, and home agent

[1] Author of Phædra—Translation of Longinus, &c.

[2] Captain Rag was a name which he got at Oxford by his negligence of dress.

to the Duke of Marlborough, had been only a *barber*—the reflection of which tormented him through life.

WHISTON. STANHOPE AT COURT.

Mr. Addison was my particular friend, and with his friend, Sir Richard Steele, brought me, upon my banishment from Cambridge, to have many astronomical lectures at Burton's Coffee-house, near Covent Garden, to the agreeable entertainment of a good number of curious persons, and the procuring me and my family comfortable support. One of my principal auditors was the Lord Stanhope, whom I knew well and esteemed as a person of uncommon natural probity. Yet, after he had been sometime a courtier, I freely asked him whether he had been able to keep up his integrity at Court, to which he made no reply, whence I concluded that he had not been able to do it, for he would never tell me a lie. This opinion is confirmed by another passage, which I had from the best authority. One day, in company, leaning on his arm in a musing posture, he suddenly started up, and in a kind of agony said: "Well, I am now satisfied, that a man cannot set his foot over the threshold of a court, but he must be as great a rogue as ever was hanged at Tyburn."

*** This was 'honest Will. Whiston,' who was expelled from Cambridge (Oct. 30, 1710) for heterodoxy, that is, for attacking the commonly received doctrine of the Trinity. In the Guardian, No. 107, will be found a paper by Addison, dated July 11, 1713, in the names of Whiston and Ditton, evidently written at the time their joint volume on the longitude was at press. The following pungent lines, published in the name of Gay, and smacking much more of Swift, were written upon them.

ODE FOR MUSIC ON THE LONGITUDE.

Recitativo.

The longitude mist on
By wicked Will. Whiston,
And not better hit on
By good Master Ditton.

Ritornello.

So Ditton and Whiston
May both be bep—st on;
And Whiston and Ditton
May both be besh—t on.

Sing Ditton
Besh—t on;
And Whiston
Bep—st on.

Sing Ditton and Whiston,
And Whiston and Ditton,
Besh—t and bep—st on,
Bep—st and besh—t on.
DA CAPO.

BROTHER HOPKINS.

BROTHER Hopkins, mentioned in Addison's letter to Wortley Montagu, (see page 370,) has long puzzled his biographers. There was a Thomas, alias 'Vulture' Hopkins, and his son Edward, M. P. in 1701, 1703, &c., both members of the Kit-cat club, but no doubt the allusion is to CHARLES HOPKINS, son of Bishop Hopkins, and author of the "Court Conquest," besides numerous poems and translations printed in "Nichols' Select Collection of Poems," 8 vols., 1780—1782. He appears to have been on terms of intimacy with Congreve, Dryden, Wycherley, Southerne, and other leading wits of the time. The term "brother" might arise from his brotherhood with Addison in some political or bon-vivant society. We cannot forbear adding the naïve account given of him by the pious writer of the Memoir of Bishop Hopkins prefixed to his works. "Charles, after a career of dissipation, to which he gave dignity and zest, as revellers of old threw pearls into their wine, by associating with Dryden, Congreve, Wycherley, Southerne, and the other prime wits of the time, died at the early age of thirty-six. Of a naturally amiable temper, and agreeable manner, he appears to have been led by his easy gaiety of heart, and excess of good nature, to mix too freely in circles where the semblance of these qualities is the smiling mask of degrading and enervating vices, and to have been a hanger-on of wits, whose leisure he may have amused by that cheerfulness and flow of spirits which constitute good fellowship. It is painful to think of the son of a prelate, not more conspicuous for his genius than for the dignity and purity of his life, dying thus, in the vigour of his manhood, a broken down debauchee, leaving behind him no record of more than average talents, except some volumes of trifling

verse, of which even Jacob,[1] one of the most doting of an emasculate school of critics, can say no better than this—and even here his author will not bear him out—that "they are all remarkable for the purity of their diction, and the harmony of their numbers."

"THE CAMPAIGN."

Upon the arrival of the news of the victory of Blenheim, (gained Aug. 13, 1704,) the Lord Treasurer Godolphin, in the fulness of his joy meeting with Lord Halifax, told him, it was pity the memory of such a victory should ever be forgot; he added, that he was pretty sure his Lordship, who was so distinguished a patron of men of letters, must know some person whose pen was capable of doing justice to the action. Lord Halifax replied, "I do know a gentleman who would celebrate the victory in a manner worthy of it: but I will not name him." The Lord Treasurer entreating to know the reason of so unkind a resolution, Lord Halifax briskly told him, that he had long with indignation observed, that while too many fools and blockheads were maintained in their pride and luxury at the expense of the public, such men as were really an honour to their country and to the age in which they lived were shamefully suffered to languish in obscurity. Godolphin calmly replied, that he would seriously consider what his Lordship had said, and endeavour to give no occasion for such reproaches in future; and in the present case would take upon himself to promise, that any gentleman whom his Lordship should name to him, capable of celebrating the late action, should find it worth his while to exert his genius on that subject. Lord Halifax, upon this encouragement, named Mr. Addison; but insisted that the Lord Treasurer should apply to him in his own person, which his Lordship promised to do, and accordingly desired the Right Honourable Mr. Boyle (then Chancellor of the Exchequer) to go to him. Mr. Addison, who was at that time but indifferently lodged, (in a garret up three pair of stairs, over a small shop in the Haymarket,) was surprised the next morning with a visit from no less a person than the Chancellor, who, after having acquainted him with his busi-

[1] Alluding to Jacob's Lives and Characters of all the English Poets, 2 vols. 8vo, London, 1719-20.

ness, added, that the Lord Treasurer, to encourage him to enter upon his subject, had already made him a Commissioner of Appeals, with the promise of something more considerable. The Lord Treasurer kept his promise, and Mr. Addison, soon after the publication of his poem, was preferred to a considerable post. See *Budgell's Life of Lord Orrery, page* 151.

DRYDEN.

ADDISON addressed a "short copy of verses, in English, to Mr. Dryden," dated from Magdalen college in Oxford, June 26, 1693, when the author was but twenty-two years of age. They contain a very elegant compliment upon Dryden's translation of Virgil, Horace, Juvenal, Persius, and Ovid. That great poet was then reduced to very melancholy circumstances by the change of affairs, and the loss of such of his friends as had interest at court; he having before been very deeply engaged against the revolution party, so that he was immediately removed from the laureate's place when King William came to the crown. And yet Dryden's vivacity and poetical flame were not in the least abated by age or the distress of his circumstances; on which Addison compliments him in the following beautiful manner:

> Can neither injuries of time, or age,
> Damp thy poetic heat, or quench thy rage?
> Not so thy Ovid in his exile wrote,
> Grief chill'd *his* breast, and check'd *his* rising thought;
> Pensive and sad, his drooping muse betrays
> The Roman genius in its last decays.

This copy of verses was followed by a version of the fourth Georgic of Virgil, of which Dryden makes very honourable mention. These are his words:—"The most ingenious Mr. Addison, of Oxford, has also been as troublesome to me as the other two, (speaking of two celebrated poets, whose poems, Dryden says, had put him to sufficient pains to make his own not inferior to them,) and on the same account. After his bees, my latter swarm is scarcely worth the hiving." —A compliment which Mr. Macaulay thinks more liberal than sincere.

ADDISON'S PREFACE TO DRYDEN'S VIRGIL.

If any one should inquire why Mr. Addison was content the world should know he translated one of Virgil's Georgics, and at the same time desired to conceal his writing what Mr. Dryden placed as a preface to his translation of the Georgics, it will be no difficult thing to satisfy him. The version was what many people had done, and anybody might do; but the essay was an untried strain of criticism, which bore a little hard upon the old professors of that art, and therefore was not so fit for a young man to take upon himself. In this light Mr. Dryden's justice and Mr. Addison's prudence are alike conspicuous. The former was above assuming unjustly the praise of other people's writings, and the latter was remarkable for keeping so strict a rein upon his wit that it never got the start of his wisdom.—*Biographia Britannica.*

ADDISON AND STEELE'S FIRST MEETING WITH SWIFT.

The first introduction of Addison and Steele to Swift is said to have been at the St. James's Coffee-house, (then[1] the great Whig resort,) upon the following occasion. One day, when all the leading wits were present, a gentleman in boots, just come out of the country, stumbled into the room. A stalwart figure (Swift) had for some time been walking to and fro without speaking to anybody, when, on the entrance of the booted Squire, up went the walking priest to him, and asked the question aloud: "Pray, sir, do you remember any good weather in the world?" The Squire, unprepared for anything in the way of allegory, stammered out, "Yes, sir, I thank God, I remember a great deal of good weather in my time." To which the querist rejoined, "That is more than I can say. I never remember any weather that was not too hot or too cold, too wet or too dry; but, however God Almighty contrives it, at the end of the year 'tis all very well"—took up his hat, and, without another word, walked out of the room.—*Quart. Rev.* cxcii.

[1] See some amusing reference to this Whig Coffee-house in the Spectator, Nos. 24 and 403.

EARLY MEMORIAL OF SWIFT AND ADDISON'S FRIENDSHIP.

THE following inscription, in the autograph of Addison, occurs on the fly-leaf of a presentation copy of his "Remarks on several Parts of Italy," 8*vo*, 1705, now in the possession of George Daniel, Esq. of Canonbury.

"To Dr. Jonathan Swift, the most agreeable companion, the truest friend, and the greatest Genius of his age, This Book is presented by his most humble Servant the Author."

This is the earliest memorial on record of the friendship of these distinguished men. The date of the presentation, however, is not given.

ORIGIN OF THE PSEUDONYME "BICKERSTAFF."

"No wonder the run upon Swift was great at the time, for he had lately started that wonderful joke against Partridge in which the rest of the wits joined so eagerly, and which not only kept the town in fits of laughter for a great many months, but was turned to a memorable use by Steele. In ridicule of that notorious Almanac-maker and all similar impostors, Swift devised sundry Predictions after their own manner for the year 1708, the very first of which announced nothing less than the death of Partridge himself, which event, after extremely cautious consultation with the star of his nativity, he fixed for the 29th of March, about eleven at night; and he was casting about for a whimsical name to give to the assumed astrologer who was to publish this joke, when his eye caught a sign over a locksmith's house, with *Isaac Bickerstaff* underneath. Out accordingly came Mr. Bickerstaff's predictions, followed very speedily by an account of the 'accomplishment of the first of them upon the 29th instant.' What he most counted upon of course was, that Partridge should be fool enough to take the matter up gravely; and he was not disappointed. In a furious pamphlet the old astrologer declared he was perfectly well, and they were knaves that reported it otherwise. Whereupon Mr. Bickerstaff retorted with a vindication more diverting than either of its predecessors; Rowe, Steele, Addison, and Prior contributed to the entertainment in divers amusing ways; Congreve, affecting to come to the rescue,

described, under Partridge's name, the distresses and reproaches Squire Bickerstaff had exposed him to, insomuch that he could not leave his doors without somebody twitting him for sneaking about without paying his funeral expenses. And all this, heightened in comicality by its contrast with the downright rage of Partridge himself, who was continually advertising himself not dead, and by the fact that the Company of Stationers did actually proceed as if in earnest he were, so contributed to make Mr. Bickerstaff talked about far and wide, that Steele afterwards said no more than the truth when he gave Swift the merit of having rendered that name famous through all parts of Europe, and raised it by his inimitable spirit and humour to as high a pitch of reputation as it could possibly arrive at."—*Quart. Rev.* cxcii.

THE FIRST TATLER.

WHILST Mr. Addison was in Ireland, Sir Richard Steele began to publish the Tatler, which appeared for the first time, April 12, 1709. Addison discovered Steele to be the author from an observation on Virgil which he himself had communicated to his friend. The remark in question was concerning the judgment of Virgil, in omitting, on one occasion, the usual epithet of Pius, or Pater, to Æneas. That occasion was when he meets with Dido in the cave: where Pius would have been absurd, and Pater a burlesque. He therefore substitutes in their place Dux Trojanus, the Trojan leader.

THE TATLER IN THE INQUISITION.

THE Inquisition was pleased in their great wisdom to burn the predictions of Isaac Bickerstaff, Esq.[1] for the year 1708, and to condemn both the authors and readers of them, as Dr. Swift was assured by Sir Paul Methuen, then ambassador to that crown (Portugal).

Isaac Bickerstaff, Esq., Astrologer, was an imaginary person, almost as well known in that age as Mr. Paul Pry or Mr. Samuel Pickwick in ours. Swift had assumed the name of Bickerstaff in a satirical pamphlet against Partridge, the maker of almanacks.

[1] The Tatlers were published under that name.

CURIOUS NOTICE OF ERRATA IN TATLER, NO. 101.
(WRITTEN BY STEELE AND ADDISON.)

"I MUST desire my readers to help me out, from time to time, in the correction of these my essays; for as a shaking hand does not always write legibly, the press sometimes prints one word for another; and when my paper is to be revised I am, perhaps, so busy in observing the spots of the moon that I have not time to find out the errata that are crept into my lucubrations."

Addison prefixed the above as an introduction to the indication of an erratum in his preceding paper, which is now rectified according to his direction.

THE LAST TATLER.

THE following is an extract of a letter from Swift to Mr. Johnson, dated Jan. 2, 1710.

"Steele's last Tatler came out to-day; you will see it before this comes to you, and how he takes leave of the world. He never told so much as *Addison* of it, who was surprised as much as I."

In another part of the same letter he adds, "I dined with Mr. Secretary St. John, and at six went to Darteneuf's to drink punch with him and Mr. Addison, and little Harrison, a young poet, whose fortune I am making. Steele was to have been there, but came not, nor ever did twice, since I knew him, to any appointment."

EXTENSIVE SALE OF THE SPECTATOR.

THE number of copies daily distributed was at first three thousand, which gradually increased to four thousand and more. It is said that as many as twenty thousand were oftentimes sold in a single day; and the writer of a recent article on Steele (in the Quarterly Review) thinks that as many as thirty thousand were sometimes circulated. After its price was doubled in consequence of the stamp-duty, it paid £29 a week on account of the half-penny stamp, besides a circulation of upwards of 10,000 in volumes. Rare as was the intercourse between the capital and the highlands of Scotland, the Spectator soon found its way regularly to that part of the kingdom.

Mr. Stewart, of Dalguise, a gentleman of Perthshire, of very great respectability, who died near ninety, about twelve or fourteen years ago,[1] informed us, that when, as usual in that country, the gentlemen met after church on Sunday, to discuss the news of the week, the Spectators were read as regularly as the Journal. He informs us also that he knew the perusal of them to be general through the country.

About seventeen months after the first publication of the Spectator, on the 1st of August, 1712, a stamp duty took place, and every single half-sheet paid one halfpenny to the Queen. The red stamp produced a mortality among the weekly authors, which is facetiously called the "*fall of the leaf.*" (See *Spectator*, *No.* 445.) On the seventh day after the tax began to operate, Swift writing to a friend says, "the *Observator* is fallen; the *Medleys* are jumbled together with the *Flying Post*; the *Examiner* is deadly sick; the *Spectator* keeps up, and doubles its price," &c.

The Guardian being published daily during the interval between the seventh and eighth volumes of the Spectator, and subjected to the same stamp duty, was sold originally at the doubled price of the papers in the seventh, the eighth, and part of the sixth volumes of the Spectator; that is, at two pence each number.

SPRING-GARDEN, AFTERWARDS VAUXHALL.

THE Spring-garden mentioned by Mr. Addison in Spectator, No. 383, is now known only by the name of Fauxhall or Vauxhall, and was originally the habitation of Sir Samuel Morland, who built a fine room there in 1667. The house was afterwards rebuilt, and about the year 1730 Mr. Jonathan Tyers became the occupier of it; and from a large garden belonging to it, planted with stately trees, and laid out in shady walks, it obtained the name of Spring-garden. The house was converted into a tavern, a place of entertainment, and was much frequented by the votaries of pleasure. Mr. Tyers opened it in 1730, with an advertisement of a Ridotto al Fresco, a term which the people of this country had till that time been strangers to. The reputation and success of these summer entertainments encouraged the proprietor to make his garden a place of musical entertainment for every

[1] This was written in 1803.

evening during the summer season. He decorated it with paintings, engaged a band of excellent musicians, issued silver tickets for admission at a guinea each, set up an organ in the orchestra; and in a conspicuous part of the garden erected a fine statue of Handel, the work of Roubillac.

GRINNING-MATCH.

In Spectator, No. 173, Mr. Addison has, with inimitable humour, attempted to expose the folly of a contest which was advertised to take place in a distant county. The advertisement which specifies the diversion is as follows:

"On the 9th of October next will be run for upon Coleshill-heath, in Warwickshire, a plate of six guineas value, three heats, by any horse, mare, or gelding, that hath not won above the value of £3; the winning horse to be sold for £10; to carry ten stone weight, if fourteen hands high; if above or under, to carry or be allowed weight for inches; and to be entered Friday the 5th, at the Swan, in Coleshill, before six in the evening. Also a plate of less value to be run for by asses. The same day a gold ring to be grinned for by men!"

It is said this paper had such an effect, that immediately on publishing it the proposed grinning-match was laid aside: with such respect were the Spectator's admonitions received in those days, even in a distant county.

MOHOCKS, NICKERS, HAWKABITES, ETC.

Sir Roger de Coverley (Spectator, No. 335, Mar. 25, 1712,) asked "if there would not be some danger in coming home late, in case the Mohocks should be abroad?"

"It had been for many previous years the favourite amusement of dissolute young men to form themselves into clubs and associations, for the cowardly pleasure of fighting and sometimes maiming harmless pedestrians and even defenceless women. They took various slang designations. At the Restoration they were Muns and Tityre-Tus; then Hectors and Scourers; later still, Nickers, (whose delight it was to smash windows with showers of half-pence,) Hawkabites, and lastly, Mohocks. These last took their title from "a sort of cannibals in India, who subsist by plundering and devour-

ing all the nations about them."[1] Nor was the designation inapt; for if there was one sort of brutality on which they prided themselves more than another, it was in tattooing, or slashing people's faces with, as Gay wrote, "new invented wounds." Their other exploits were quite as savage as those of their predecessors, although they aimed at dashing their mischief with wit and originality. They began their evening at their clubs by drinking to excess in order to inflame what little courage they possessed. They then sallied forth sword in hand. Some enacted the part of "dancing-masters" by thrusting their rapiers between the legs of sober citizens in such a fashion as to make them cut the most grotesque capers. The hunt spoken of by Sir Roger was commenced by a "view hallo!" and as soon as the savage pack had run down their victim, they surrounded him, and formed a circle with the points of their swords. One gave a puncture in the rear, which naturally made him wheel about; then came a prick from another, and so they kept him spinning like a top till in their mercy they chose to let him go free. An adventure of this kind is narrated in No. 332 of the Spectator. Another savage diversion was thrusting women into barrels and rolling them down Snow or Ludgate Hill: Gay sings,

> ———"their mischiefs done,
> Where, from Snow Hill black steepy torrents run;
> How matrons hooped within a hogshead's womb
> Were tumbled furious thence; the falling tomb
> O'er the stones thunders; bounds from side to side:
> So Regulus to save his country died."

At the date of the present "Spectator" the outrages of the Mohocks were so intolerable that they became the subject of a royal proclamation issued on the 18th of March, just a week before Sir Roger's visit to Drury Lane. Swift—who was horribly afraid of them—mentions some of their villanies. He writes two days previously, that "two of the Mohocks caught a maid of old Lady Winchelsea's at the door of her house in the Park with a candle, and had just lighted out somebody. They cut all her face, and beat her without any provocation."

The proclamation had little effect. On the very day after our party went to the play, we find Swift exclaiming, "They

[1] Spectator, No. 324.

go on still, and cut people's faces every night! but they shan't cut mine;—I like it better as it is."

Wills. Roger de Coverley.

METAMORPHOSIS OF CHARLES THE SECOND'S STATUE.

In Spectator, No. 462, an amusing account is given of the entertainment of this merry monarch, on his coming into the city, by Sir Robert Viner, who was then Mayor, and who afterwards erected a statue of the King in Stocks Market. Of this statue is told the following anecdote:—

The equestrian statue of Charles II. in Stocks Market, erected at the sole charge of Sir Robert Viner, was originally made for John Sobieski, King of Poland; but by some accident it had been left on the workman's hands. To save time and expense, the Polander was converted into a Briton, and the Turk underneath his horse into Oliver Cromwell, to complete the compliment. Unfortunately, the turban on the Turk's head was overlooked, and left an undeniable proof of this story.

This equestrian statue of white marble was erected on a conduit in 1675; but when in 1735 the City Council fixed on Stocks Market for the site of a house of residence for the Lord Mayors of London, the statue was removed to make way for the Mansion-house, the first stone of which was laid October 25, 1739, by Micajah Perry, Esq., then Lord Mayor.

SIR ROGER DE COVERLEY.

Among all the characters in the Spectator, that of Sir Roger de Coverley was the favourite with Addison. Steele, in one of his Spectators, most injudiciously made the old knight pick up a loose woman in the Temple Cloisters. Addison was so heartily vexed when he read this paper, that he immediately called a coach, went to his friend Sir Richard, and would not leave him till he had promised that he would meddle no more with Sir Roger's character. Foreseeing a little before he laid down the Spectator that some one might catch up his pen the moment he had quitted it, he said to an intimate friend, with an unusual warmth in his expression—"By heavens,[1] I'll kill Sir Roger, that nobody else may mur-

[1] In Budgell's version of this story, given in 'The Bee,' (1733,) Addison is made to say, 'By God.'

der him." Accordingly the whole Spectator, No. 517, consists of nothing else but an account of the old knight's death, and some moving circumstances that attended it.

CONTINUATION OF THE SPECTATOR.

WHEN the old Spectator was laid down by those hands which at first composed it, the paper was immediately set on foot again by some of the greatest wits in England; several of whose writings, of different kinds, had been received with the utmost applause by the public; yet even these gentlemen, to their great surprise, found the thing would not do; and had the good sense, not only to drop their design, but to conceal their names.[1] Addison said, upon this occasion, that he looked upon the undertaking to write Spectators to be like the attempt of Penelope's lovers to shoot with the bow of Ulysses; who soon found that nobody could shoot well in that bow but the hand which used to draw it.

CURIOUS ADVERTISEMENTS IN THE SPECTATOR.

THE following advertisements are inserted in the 537th No. of the Spectator, in folio, November 15th, 1712:

"Continued to be sold, neat French brandy, full proof and of fine flavour, at £94 per tun, and at 8*s.* a gallon! for any quantity less than half a hogshead."

"An incomparable pleasant tincture to restore the sense of smelling, though lost for many years. A few drops snuffed up the nose infallibly cures those who have lost their smell, let it proceed from what cause soever."

In No. 546, dated the 25th of the same month, is advertised, "At Punch's Theatre, the Blind Beggar of Bethnal-Green. No persons to be admitted with masks or riding-hoods." Then follows a distinction as to women of the town.

TRANSLATIONS OF THE SPECTATOR, TATLER, &C.

THE Tatler, Spectator, and Guardian have been translated into most of the European languages, and have given birth to several papers, in imitation of them, in foreign countries. The French had for some time their Babillard, or Tatler; the Dutch their Spectator; and the Germans had for several

[1] The Spectator, vol. ix., was commenced January 3rd, 1715, and dropped at the 63rd number.

years together their Guardians. This last paper was printed at Hamburgh, and composed by a society of gentlemen who understood English: they translated many of the Spectators, which had not before appeared in the German language; and this gave their Guardians so great a reputation, that nine or ten thousand of them were usually sold.

DEDICATION TO THE GUARDIAN.

Mr. Addison, in his dedication of the second volume of the Guardian, addressed to Mr. Pultney, has the following beautiful sentiment—"Zeal for the public good is the characteristic of a man of honour and a gentleman, and must take place of pleasures, profits, and all other private gratifications; whosoever wants these motives is an open enemy, or an inglorious neuter to mankind, in proportion to the misapplied advantages with which nature and fortune have blessed him."

CHARLES LILLIE.

This man kept a shop at the corner of Beaufort-buildings in the Strand, where he sold snuff of various kinds, perfumes, &c., and took in letters for the Tatler, Spectator, &c., and which were directed for him at the desire of Steele, who befriended him greatly.

When the original publication of the Tatler, Spectator, &c. in folio was discontinued, Charles Lillie was permitted to print for his own benefit the remaining letters not made use of in them, under such restrictions as Steele, from principle, seems to have laid down for himself. Accordingly many, if not all, of these letters, some of them from eminent persons, and well worthy of preservation, were published in two volumes, 8vo in 1725, with a dedication full of respect and gratitude to Sir Richard Steele. The knight's permission of the publication, prefixed to the first volume, seems to have been written hastily, and is as follows:—

"March 2, 1723-4, York-buildings.

"Mr. Lillie, you have communicated to me a design you have to print letters to the Tatler and Spectator, not made use of in them. I have a great deal of business, and very ill health, therefore must desire you to excuse me from look-

ing over them; but if you take care that no person or family is offended at any of them, or anything in them be published contrary to religion and good manners, you have my leave to do what you please with them. I wish you all prosperity, &c.

(Signed) "RICHARD STEELE."

ADDISON'S CONVERSATIONAL POWERS.

Sept. 14, 1711.

"IT is reported to have been one of the most exquisite entertainments to the choice spirits in the beginning of this century, to get Addison and Steele together in company for the evening. Steele entertained them till he was tipsy: when the same wine that stupified him only served to elevate Addison, who took up the ball just as Steele dropped it, and kept it up for the rest of the evening."—*Connoisseur*, 92.

ADDISON'S INTIMACY WITH THE TORIES.

OF the friendly manner in which Addison lived with the Tory wits, the following is an instance. Dr. Arbuthnot's eldest son, by his will, bequeaths to his cousin John Arbuthnot, of Ravensbury, near Mitcham, in Surrey, "the large silver cup given to my father by Mr. Addison."

BLANK VERSE *versus* RHYME.

"MR. Addison was not a good-natured man, and very jealous of rivals. Being one evening in company with Phillips, and the poems of Blenheim and the Campaign being talked of, he made it his whole business to run down blank verse. Phillips never spoke till between eleven and twelve o'clock, nor even then could do it in his own defence. It was at Jacob Tonson's, and a gentleman in company ended the dispute, by asking Jacob what poem he ever got the most by? —Jacob immediately named Milton's Paradise Lost."—*Dr. Leigh, who had it from the gentleman who was present.*

Spence.

NAMBY PAMBY.

ONE of Addison's favourite companions was Ambrose Philips, a good Whig and a middling poet, who had the honour of bringing into fashion a species of composition which

has been called, after his name, *Namby Pamby*. [A nick-name bestowed by Pope on some Poems of short lines, in which Philips paid his court to all ages and characters, from Walpole, "the steerer of the realm," to Miss Pulteney in the Nursery.]

The following humorous and unpublished lines, probably by Dean Swift, as they are contained in a manuscript volume of poetry[1] all in his manner and *hand-writing*, may be appropriately added:

Namby Pamby, or a Panegyric on the New Versification, Addressed to A(mbrose) P(hilips), Esq.

Namby Pamby, Jack a Dandy,
Stole a piece of Sugar-Candy
From the Grocer's Shoppy-Shop,
And away did Hoppy-hop.

POPE AND PASTORAL PHILIPS.

NOT long after the appearance of Pope's Pastorals, many persons of little wit, and less judgment, undertook to decry them, on the ground of wanting that simplicity which is the characteristic of pastoral poetry. To ridicule these objections, Pope privately sent that celebrated essay which was published in the Guardian, and which eventually gave so much offence to Philips. This essay contains an ironical comparison between his own Pastorals and those of Philips, in which he goes so far as to deny that his own have any claim to be called Pastorals; adding, humorously, that "though they were by no means Pastorals, yet they were something better."

Many persons did not discern the irony contained in this essay, but imagined it to be a serious criticism by Steele, who had received it from an unknown hand. All the wits at Button's considered it as such, except Mr. Addison, who saw into the joke immediately; and the next time he met Mr. Pope told him into what a ridiculous situation he had put his friends, who had declared their dislike of having Philips so extolled at the expense of another of the club: which is the language Steele had before held with Pope when he first received the papers.

Some who were weak enough to suppose this comparison serious, thought that it proceeded from a partiality to Mr.

[1] In the possession of the publisher.

Philips, for whom Sir Richard was supposed to have a personal kindness. [See more of Ambrose Philips at p. 428-9.]

ADDISON'S OPINION OF POPE'S "RAPE OF THE LOCK."

Mr. Caryl (a gentleman who was Secretary to Queen Mary, wife of James II., whose fortune he followed into France, and author of the comedy of Sir Solomon Single, and of several translations in Dryden's miscellanies) originally proposed the subject of this poem to Pope, in the view of putting an end, by this piece of ridicule, to a difference that had arisen between two noble families, those of Lord Petre and Mrs. Fermor, on the trifling occasion of his having cut off a lock of her hair. This little liberty was taken too seriously; and though the two families had long been friends, it occasioned a coolness between them.

The first sketch of this exquisite piece was shown to Addison, who expressed his opinion of it, by calling it *merum sal*.[1] It was written, as we learn from Pope himself, in two

[1] *Pure Attic* is the literal sense, but as Addison also called the piece "a delicious little thing," he most probably had in mind the line of Lucretius (1156, Book iv.) which is thus given in an old Dictionary of Quotations under the heading, 'An Attractive Woman.'

Parvula, pumilio, χαρίτων μια, tota merum sal.
A little, pretty, witty, charming she.

Creech translates it,

The little dwarf is pretty, grace all o'er.

And Good, (see Class. Lib. ed. p. 187,)

——— the pigmy dwarf,
A sprightly grace, all energy and wit.

The learned may read Bentley and Gilbert Wakefield's notes on the line.

That Lucretius was very popular in the days of Addison may be presumed from the activity with which editions were produced. In 1712 Tonson published two, one splendidly printed in folio with plates, the other in quarto; Maittaire followed in 1713; and in 1714, Creech's translation, of which a fifth edition had already appeared in 1712, was reprinted with large additions. Garth, in 1711, wrote an elaborate Dedication to George I. (then Elector of Brunswick) for an edition promised but never published. The Dedication was printed in the Historical Dictionary, v. 397. Harley, Earl of Oxford, who was on friendly terms with all the literary wits of the day—Addison, Steele, Pope, Swift, Gay, Prior, &c.—is said (by Lamberty) to have made *Lucretius* his catechism; and to have got it so entirely by heart, that he was constantly quoting it both in his conversation and letters. Our authority adds a natural sequitur:—he was not particularly orthodox. Ed.

cantos only, in less than a fortnight, in the year 1711, when he was about twenty-three years of age.

The author sent a copy of it to the lady, with whom he was acquainted; and she was so delighted with it that she distributed copies of it among her acquaintance, and at length prevailed on him to publish it, as appears by the motto.

The piece produced the desired effect; for it reconciled the two families, and gave offence to no one but Sir George Brown, who often observed, with some degree of resentment, and indeed justice too, that he was made to talk nothing but nonsense in the character of Sir Plume.

This piece, as has been before observed, is what, at its first appearance, was termed by Addison "*merum sal.*" Pope, however, saw that it was capable of improvement; and having luckily contrived to borrow his machinery from the Rosicrucians, imparted the scheme to Addison, who told him that his work, as it stood, was a "delicious little thing," and gave him no encouragement to retouch it.

"This," it is well remarked by Dr. Johnson, "has been too hastily considered as an instance of Addison's jealousy; for, as he could not guess the conduct of the new design, or the possibilities of pleasure comprised in a fiction of which there had been no examples, he might very reasonably and kindly persuade the author to acquiesce in his own prosperity, and forbear an attempt which he considered as an unnecessary hazard.

"Addison's counsel was happily rejected. Pope foresaw the future efflorescence of imagery then budding in his mind, and resolved to spare no art or industry of cultivation. The soft luxuriance of his fancy was already shooting, and all the gay varieties of diction were ready at his hand to colour and embellish it."

ADDISON, POPE.

Mr. Pope's friendship with Mr. Addison commenced about the year 1713.[1] Mr. Pope used to say that he liked him de bon cœur, as well as he liked any man, and was very fond of his conversation; and the friendship was cultivated on both sides with all the marks of mutual esteem and affec-

[1] Probably a year earlier, as Steele promised to bring them acquainted in Feb. 1711-12, and we find Addison, in Oct. 1712, warmly recommending Mr. Pope to the world as a rising genius.

tion, and with a constant intercourse of good offices. Thus when the translation of the Iliad was on foot, which was begun in 1713, Mr. Addison expressed the highest expectations from it; and, when first published, recommended it to the public, and joined with the Tories in promoting the subscription. Mr. Pope, at the same time, made his friend's interest his own; and when Dennis so brutally attacked the tragedy of Cato, he wrote, under the assumed name of John Norris, the piece entitled "A Narrative of his Madness," published July 30, 1713. [Addison was averse to this publication, as will be seen by Steele's letter (ante, p. 405)].

Mr. Pope, from time to time, communicated to Mr. Addison the progress he made in his translation, and the difficulties which attended it; particularly in a long letter to him, dated January 30, 1714,[1] wherein, among other things, he jocularly complains of the various reports which were propagated to his prejudice. "Some have said I am not a master in the Greek, who are either so themselves, or are not: if they are not, they cannot tell; and if they are, they cannot without having catechised me."

Not long after these transactions, the unhappy difference broke out between these illustrious friends, which drew from Mr. Pope the following famous lines:

POPE'S SATIRE ON ADDISON.

Peace to all such! but were there one whose fires
True genius kindles, and fair fame inspires:
Blest with each talent, and each art to please,
And born to write, converse, and live with ease;
Should such a man, too fond to rule alone,
Bear, like the Turk, no brother near the throne,
View him with scornful, yet with jealous, eyes,
And hate for arts that caused himself to rise;
Damn with faint praise, assent with civil leer,
And without sneering teach the rest to sneer;
Willing to wound, and yet afraid to strike,
Just hint a fault, and hesitate dislike;
Alike reserved to blame, or to commend,
A tim'rous foe, and a suspicious friend;
Dreading ev'n fools, by flatterers besieged,
And so obliging, that he ne'er obliged:
Like Cato, gives his little senate laws,
And sits attentive to his own applause:

[1] Printed in Roscoe's Pope, vol. viii. p. 204.

While wits and templars every sentence raise,
And wonder with a foolish face of praise.
Who but must laugh, if such a man there be?
Who could not weep, if Atticus were he?

[Pope regarded Addison with suspicion, for giving him advice, which was no doubt honest, not to introduce supernatural agency into his "Rape of the Lock." He thought Addison was jealous, and his advice insidious, although he had himself acted similarly in dissuading Addison from bringing his Cato on the stage. See the whole subject ably considered in Macaulay, p. 74—81.]

POPE'S ACCOUNT OF HIS QUARREL WITH ADDISON.

"PHILIPS seemed to have been encouraged to abuse me, in coffee-houses, and conversations; Gildon wrote a thing about Wycherley,[1] in which he had abused both me and my relations very grossly.—Lord Warwick[2] himself told me one day, 'that it was in vain for me to endeavour to be well with Mr. Addison; that his jealous temper would never admit of a settled friendship between us; and, to convince me of what he had said, assured me that Addison had encouraged Gildon to publish those scandals, and had given him ten guineas after they were published.' The next day, while I was heated with what I had heard, I wrote a letter to Mr. Addison to let him know, 'that I was not unacquainted with this behaviour of his; that if I was to speak severely of him in return for it, it should not be in such a dirty way; that I should rather tell him himself fairly of his faults, and allow his good qualities; and that it should be something in the following manner.' I then subjoined the first sketch of what has been since called my satire on Addison. He used me very civilly ever after; and never did me any injustice, that I know of, from that time to his death, which was about three years after." *Spence.*

Dr. Trapp, who was by at the time of this conversation, said that he wondered how so many people came to imagine that Mr. Pope did not write this copy of verses till after Addison's death; since so many people, and he himself for one, had seen it in Addison's life-time. *Spence.*

[1] A pamphlet containing Wycherley's Life. See note on Dunciad, i. 296.

[2] "Who was but a weak man himself." M. S. P.

THE EARL OF WARWICK.

"ONE reason which induced the Earl of Warwick to play the ignominious part of tale-bearer on this occasion, may have been his dislike of the marriage which was about to take place between his mother and Addison. The Countess Dowager, a daughter of the old and honourable family of the Middletons of Chirk, a family which, in any country but ours, would be called noble, resided at Holland House. *Addison had, during some years, occupied at Chelsea a small dwelling, once the abode of Nell Gwynn.* Chelsea is now a district of London, and Holland House may be called a town-residence. But, in the days of Anne and George the First, milkmaids and sportsmen wandered between green hedges and over fields bright with daisies, from Kensington almost to the shore of the Thames. *Addison and Lady Warwick were country neighbours, and became intimate friends.* The great wit and scholar tried to allure the young Lord from the fashionable amusements of beating watchmen, breaking windows, and rolling women in hogsheads down Holborn Hill, to the study of letters and the practice of virtue. These well-meant exertions did little good, however, either to the disciple or to the master. Lord Warwick grew up a rake; and Addison fell in love." *Macaulay.*

TICKELL'S AND POPE'S RIVAL TRANSLATIONS OF HOMER.

TICKELL published the first book of the Iliad, (June 1715,) as translated by himself, in apparent opposition to Pope's Homer, of which the first part made its appearance at the same time.

Addison declared that the rival versions were both good; but that Tickell's was the best that ever was made. Pope did not appear to be much dismayed; "for," says he, "I have the town, that is, the mob, on my side." But he remarks, "that it is common for the smaller party to make up in diligence what they want in numbers; he appeals to the people as his proper judges, and, if they are not inclined to condemn him, he is in little care about the high-flyers at Button's."

Pope did not long think Addison an impartial judge, for he

considered him as the writer of Tickell's version. The grounds of this suspicion are thus recorded by Mr. Spence.

"There had been a coldness (said Mr. Pope) between Mr. Addison and me for some time; and we had not been in company together for a good while anywhere but in Button's coffee-house, where I used to see him almost every day. On his meeting me there, one day in particular, he took me aside, and said he should be glad to dine with me at such a tavern, if I stayed till those people were gone (Budgell and Philips)." He went accordingly; and after dinner Mr. Addison said, "that he had wanted for some time to talk with him; that his friend Tickell had formerly, whilst at Oxford, translated the first book of the Iliad; that he designed to print it, and had desired him to look it over; that he must, therefore, beg that I would not desire him to look over my first book, because if he did it would have the air of double dealing." "I assured him that I did not at all take it ill of Mr. Tickell that he was going to publish his translation; that he certainly had as much right to translate any author as myself; and that publishing both was entering on a fair stage. I then added, that I would not desire him to look over my first book of the Iliad, because he had looked over Mr. Tickell's, but could wish to have the benefit of his observations on my second, which I had then finished, and which Mr. Tickell had not touched upon. Accordingly I sent him the second book the next morning; and Mr. Addison, a few days after, returned it, with very high commendations. Soon after it was generally known that Mr. Tickell was publishing the first book of the Iliad, I met Dr. Young in the street, and upon our falling into that subject the doctor expressed a great deal of surprise at Tickell's having had such a translation so long by him. He said that it was inconceivable to him, and that there must be some mistake in the matter; that each used to communicate to the other whatever verses they wrote, even to the least things; that Tickell could not have been busied in so long a work there without his knowing something of the matter; and that he had never heard a single word of it till on this occasion. This surprise of Dr. Young, together with what Steele has said against Tickell in relation to this affair, makes it highly probable that there was some underhand dealing in that business; and, indeed, Tickell himself, who is a very fair worthy

man, has since, in a manner, as good as owned it to me." When it was introduced into a conversation between Mr. Tickell and Mr. Pope, by a third person, Tickell did not deny it; which, considering his honour and zeal for his departed friend, was the same as owning it.

THE RIVAL TRANSLATIONS OF HOMER.

Continued.

GAY, in a letter to Pope, says,—"July 8, 1715. I have just set down Sir Samuel Garth at the opera. He bid me tell you that everybody is pleased with your translation (of the Iliad), but a few at Button's, and that Sir Richard Steele told him that the other translation was the best that ever was in any language. He treated me with extreme civility, and out of kindness give me a squeeze by the fore-finger. I am informed that at Button's your character is made very free with as to morals, &c., and Mr. Addison says, that your translation and Tickell's are both very well done, but that the latter has more of Homer. I am, &c." [This kind of gossip must have galled the malignant and splenetic heart of Pope and confirmed his envy and dislike of Addison. See Macaulay, p. 78.]

POPE'S VILLA AT TWICKENHAM.

POPE, in 1715, prevailed on his father to sell the estate at Binfield. He purchased the villa at Twickenham, so much celebrated from his residence in it, and retired thither with his parents.

There he planted the vines and the quincunx which he has recorded in his poems; and being under the necessity of making a subterraneous passage to a garden on the other side of the road, he adorned it with fossil bodies, and rendered it a grotto.[1]

Mr. Pope's celebrated character of Atticus, which he afterwards ingrafted into his "Epistle to Dr. Arbuthnot,"—and which was designed for Mr. Addison,—was written at this

[1] The anxiety with which Pope fitted up and continued to decorate this grotto, is shown in a long letter accompanied by a drawing, all in his own hand, addressed to Dr. Chartlett, Oct. 8, 1740, now in the publisher's possession.

house, and is said to have been one of the first productions of his pen after he had entered his new residence.

POPE'S CRITICS.

AFTER the quarrel between Addison and Pope, a variety of lesser critics rose up against the latter. These authors, with their works, would probably have shortly sunk to oblivion, had not Mr. Pope himself taken a curious sort of pride and pleasure in collecting them as they appeared. He had them bound up in volumes of all sizes, twelves, octavos, quartos, and folios; to which he has prefixed this motto from Job—"Behold, my desire is that mine adversary had written a book. Surely I would take it upon my shoulder, and bind it as a crown to me." Chap. xxxi. ver. 35.

These libellers being mostly anonymous, Mr. Pope to each libel wrote the name of the composer, with occasional remarks.—This collection was in being in the year 1769.

[The reader who is interested in the details of this quarrel between Pope and Addison, will find them at large in Kippis's Biographia Britannica, in an article attributed to Judge Blackstone; Johnson's Lives of the Poets; D'Israeli's Quarrels of Authors; Roscoe's Life of Pope; Drake's Essays; Miss Aikin's Life of Addison, [which gives some new evidence in favour of Addison's integrity in the matter;] and, last not least, in Mr. Macaulay's brilliant Essay.]

SIR RICHARD STEELE'S FULL-BOTTOMED WIG.

WHEN the Spectator wrote, large full-bottomed wigs were worn by all men of fashion. They probably answered to the high commodes of the ladies. It is said those long perukes were invented by a French barber, whose name was Duviller, in order to conceal a deformity in the shoulder, either of the Dauphin or the Duke of Burgundy; hence they were likewise called Duvillers. They had been long used in France, and were introduced into England soon after the Restoration, where they continued to be worn by men of fashion in 1709. A wig of this sort was an expensive part of dress. Duumvir's "*fair wig*" cost forty guineas. (Tatler, No. 54. See also Life of Colley Cibber.) It appears from a curious note of Sir John Hawkins, in his "History of Music," vol. iv. page 447, that it was common, about this time, for gentlemen to *comb*

their wigs even in public places, and that they carried their *combs* in their pockets to display this act of gallantry. The following passage in Tatler, No. 38, alludes to this odd custom: "Thou dear Will Shoestring! How shall I draw thee? Thou dear outside! Will you be combing your wig, playing with your box, or picking your teeth, &c.?"

Old Richard Nutt, one of the first printers of the Tatlers, used to say that Steele paid fifty pounds per annum to his barber, and that he never rode out on airing, which he did often, but in a black full-bottomed dress periwig, the price of one of which, at that time, nearly amounted to this sum.

STEELE. RUMP WIT.

ONE evening after Addison and Steele had been toasting the immortal memory of King William pretty freely, at a Whig club held at a tavern in Shoe Lane, the waiters were hoisting him into a hackney-coach, with some labour and pains, when a Tory mob was passing by, and their cry was, *Down with the rump*, &c. "*Up* with the rump," cried Sir Richard to the waiters, "or I shall not get home to-night."

STEELE'S DUEL. THE TWENTY-FIFTH TATLER.

STEELE was in the Coldstream regiment under Colonel Cutts, when a brother officer communicated to him an intention of challenging a person who had fallen under his displeasure, and was diverted from his purpose by what Steele said to him on the subject. Some of this young officer's companions led him afterwards into a belief that Steele's decision of this affair had been warped by his partiality for the real or supposed offender, whose character had eventually been raised at the expense, as they said, of the other's honour. This villanous or ill-judged misrepresentation produced a challenge on Steele himself, who was just at the time recovering from a fever, and endeavoured by raillery and reasoning to divert it in vain. Confiding in his own superiority, and imagining he could chastise the youth's insolence without endangering his life, he ultimately accepted the challenge, in contradiction to his avowed principles and his heart. They met by appointment; and Steele's buckle breaking as he tightened his shoe, he took occasion to urge this fresh disadvantage, and renewed his endeavours to induce the challenger to desist, with as

little success as before. He parried his adversary's thrusts for some time; but at last, in a well-meant attempt to disable him, he unfortunately ran the young man through the body, who lingered some time in danger of his life from the wound, but in the end happily recovered. Lord Cutts, who was at this time Steele's colonel, espoused his cause very warmly when this affair was much agitated, and while the youth continued in a desperate condition. It is supposed to have been during this painful interim that Steele put together the materials for his twenty-fifth number of the Tatler, although the paper was not published till nearly two years afterwards.[1]

STEELE'S FIRST DRAMATIC PRODUCTION.

THE *Funeral, or Grief à la Mode*, was played at Drury Lane in 1702. It is very sprightly and full of telling hits. Sidney Smith delighted in the following passage, and used to think it Addison's, but it was no doubt Steele's own. It occurs in a scene where the undertaker reviews his regiment of mourners, and singles out for indignant remonstrance one provokingly hale, well-looking mute. "You ungrateful scoundrel, did I not pity you, take you out of a great man's service, and show you the pleasure of receiving wages? Did I not give you ten, then fifteen, now twenty shillings a week to be sorrowful? And the more I give you, I think the gladder you are!"—*Quart. Rev.* cxcii.

STEELE'S COMEDY OF THE "TENDER HUSBAND."

STEELE surprised Addison with a dedication of this play, (published 1703,) and afterwards acquainted the public that he owed some of the most interesting scenes of it to his friend.

ANECDOTE OF SIR RICHARD STEELE.[2]

FEW people were greater admirers of prudence and economy than Sir Richard Steele was in precept, yet nothing could be more disagreeable to his temper than the practice of either. A turn naturally gay and expensive frequently reduced him to difficulties, and exposed him to some circumstances rather painful to a disposition so delicate and refined.

[1] See note, *ante*, p. 328.

[2] This anecdote first appeared in the *Court Magazine*, 1761.

Among the number of people who were highly charmed with his conversation and writings, none professed a greater admiration of both than a Lincolnshire baronet, who usually sat at Button's. This gentleman possessed a very large fortune, had great interest, and more than once solicited Sir Richard Steele to command his utmost ability, and he should think himself under no little obligation. These offers, though made with the most seeming cordiality, Sir Richard, at the time, declined, with a grateful politeness peculiar to himself, having no immediate need of the gentleman's assistance. But some instance of extravagance having once reduced him to the necessity of borrowing a sum of money to satisfy an importunate creditor, he thought this a very proper opportunity of calling on his friend, and requesting the loan of a hundred pounds for a few days. The gentleman received him with much civility and respect, began to renew his offers of service, and begged Sir Richard would give him some occasion to show his friendship and regard.—"Why, sir," says Sir Richard, "I came for that very purpose, and if you can lend me a hundred pounds for a few days I shall consider it as a singular favour." Had Sir Richard clapped a pistol to his breast, and made a peremptory demand of his money, that gentleman could not have appeared in a greater surprise than at this unexpected request. His offers of friendship had been only made on a supposition of their never being accepted, and intended only as so many baits for Sir Richard's intimacy and acquaintance; of which the gentleman, while it cost him nothing, was particularly proud. Recovering, however, from his surprise, he stammered out, "Why, really, Sir Richard, I would serve you to the utmost of my power, but at present I have not twenty guineas in the house." Sir Richard, who saw through the pitiful evasion, was heartily vexed at the meanness and excuse.—"And so, sir," says he, "you have drawn me in to expose the situation of my affairs, with a promise of assistance, and now refuse me any mark of your friendship or esteem. A disappointment I can bear, but must by no means put up with an insult; therefore be so obliging as to consider whether it is more agreeable to comply with the terms of my request, or to submit to the consequences of my resentment." Sir Richard spoke this in so determined a tone, that the baronet was startled, and said, seeming to recollect himself, "Lord, my dear Sir Ri-

chard, I beg ten thousand pardons; upon my honour, I did not remember—bless me, I have a hundred-pound note in my pocket, which is entirely at your service." So saying, he produced the note, which Sir Richard immediately put up, and then addressed him in the following manner: "Though I despise an obligation from a person of so mean a cast as I am satisfied you are, yet, rather than be made a fool, I choose to accept of this hundred pound, which I shall return when it suits my convenience. But, that the next favour you confer may be done with a better grace, I must take the liberty of pulling you by the nose,[1] as a proper expedient to preserve your recollection;"—which Sir Richard accordingly did, and then took his leave, whilst the poor baronet stood surprised at the oddity of his behaviour, and heartily ashamed at the meanness of his own.

ADDISON'S LOAN TO STEELE.

Steele built and inhabited, for a few years, an elegant house, which he called by the name of the Hovel, at Hampton-Wick, adjoining the palace. Not long after the dedication referred to below,[2] (1711,) being embarrassed by his vanity of profusion, or his imprudence of generosity, he borrowed a thousand pounds of Addison on this house and its furniture, giving bond and judgment for repayment of the money at the end of twelve months. On the forfeiture of the bond, Addison's attorney proceeded to execution. The house and furniture were sold; the surplus Addison remitted to Steele, with a genteel letter,[3] stating the friendly reason of this extraordinary procedure, viz. to awaken him, if possible,

[1] This nose-pulling spoils the story, which else is credible enough.—Ed.

[2] See Steele's Dedication to the fourth volume of the Tatler, which is dated "From the Hovel at Hampton-Wick, April 7, 1711."

[3] This statement, which is on the authority of Victor, differs materially from that given by Savage to Dr. Johnson, and there is a discrepancy in the dates. Steele, according to his own letter, referred to at our p. 373, repaid Addison the borrowed thousand pounds in 1708. Probably he only gave him his bond and called that payment, and Addison may have waited patiently, till seeing voluntary repayment hopeless, he entered up judgment, in preference to letting some less friendly creditor anticipate him. That Steele was in great trouble for money in 1709 appears from his letter to the Earl of Halifax, dated Oct. 6th. Addison's presumed harshness in exacting repayment is told with some asperity by Dr. Johnson, and satisfactorily defended by Macaulay, p. 45. See Lives of the Poets, and Croker's Boswell, vol. viii. p. 22.

from a lethargy that must end in his inevitable ruin. Steele received the letter with his wonted good humour and gaiety, and met his friend as usual.

When we consider the careless and extravagant temper of Sir Richard Steele, it will be no difficult thing to conceive that Addison's conduct was dictated by the kindest motives; and that the step, apparently so severe, was designed to awaken him, if possible, to a sense of the impropriety of his mode and habits of life. Unhappily for Steele, the correction administered by his friend, in this as in other seasons, was too little regarded; for Steele persevered in those irregularities which ultimately produced his ruin.

STEELE'S IMPROVIDENCE.

THE following are two memorable examples of Steele's expense and improvidence, whilst they at the same time show his natural turn for humour under all circumstances.

Steele one day invited several persons of rank and quality to dine at his house. The company were surprised to see the number of footmen which surrounded the table. After dinner, when wine and lively conversation had dispelled ceremony and restraint, a nobleman asked the knight how so large and expensive a train of servants accorded with his fortune? Sir Richard very ingenuously confessed they were fellows of whom he would very willingly be rid. Being asked why then he did not discharge them, he declared that they were bailiffs, who had introduced themselves with an execution, and whom, since he could not send them away, he had thought it convenient to embellish with liveries, that they might do him honour whilst they staid. His friends were diverted with the expedient, and by paying the debt discharged him from this encumbrance, having first obtained a promise from Sir Richard that they should not find him again graced with such a retinue.

Steele had at one time formed a project of converting part of his house into a sort of a theatre, for reciting passages from the most approved authors, ancient and modern. He had, as usual, never considered whether he could derive any advantage from the execution of that project, or whether his finances would bear the expense. A splendid theatre was constructed, and finished under his direction.

Steele was delighted with the appearance of the place; and wishing to know if it was equally fitted for pleasing the ear as the eye, desired the carpenter, who had undertaken and completed the work, to go to a pulpit at one end of the room, and from thence to pronounce some sentences, whilst himself at the other should judge of the effect. The carpenter being mounted in the pulpit, declared himself at a loss how to begin, or what to say. Sir Richard told him to speak whatever was uppermost in his mind. The carpenter, thus directed, in a distinct and audible voice called out, "Sir Richard Steele, here has I, and these here men, been doing your work for three months, and never seen the colour of your money.—When are you to pay us? I cannot pay my journeymen without money, and money I must have." "Very well, very well," said Sir Richard, "pray come down, I have heard quite enough. You speak very distinctly, but I don't admire the subject."

THE FRIENDSHIP OF STEELE AND ADDISON.

In the last paper of the seventh volume of the Spectator, No. 555, (published Dec. 6, 1712,) written and signed by Steele in his real name and character, how nobly disinterested and how tenderly affecting are his acknowledgments to his illustrious friend and coadjutor Addison!

"I hope," says he, "the apology I have made, as to the licence allowed to a feigned character, may excuse anything which has been said in these discourses of the Spectator and his works. But the imputation of the grossest vanity would still dwell upon me, if I did not give some account by what means I was enabled to keep up the spirit of so long and approved a performance. All the papers marked with a C, L, I, O, were given me by a gentleman, of whose assistance I formerly boasted in the preface and concluding leaf of the Tatler. I am indeed much more proud of his long-continued friendship than I should be of the fame of being thought the author of any writings which he is himself capable of producing. I remember, when I finished the Tender Husband, I told him there was nothing I so earnestly wished, as that we might some time or other publish a work, written by us both, which should bear the name of the *Monument*, in memory of our friendship. I heartily wish what I have done here were as honorary to that sacred name as learning, wit,

and humanity render those pieces which *I have taught the reader how to distinguish* for his. When the play abovementioned was last acted, there were so many applauded strokes in it which I had from the same hand, that I thought very meanly of myself that I had never publicly acknowledged them. After I have put other friends upon importuning him to publish dramatic as well as other writings he has by him, I shall end what I think I am obliged to say on this head, by giving my reader the hint for the better judging of my productions—that the best comment upon them would be an account when the patron of the Tender Husband was in England or abroad."

Again, in his Theatre (No. 12, published 1720, after Addison's death) Steele bears testimony to the sincere and ardent friendship which existed between them.

"There never was a more strict friendship than between these two gentlemen; nor had they ever any difference but what proceeded from their different way of pursuing the same thing: the one with patience, foresight, and temperate address, always waited and stemmed the torrent; while the other often plunged himself into it, and was often taken out by the temper of him who stood weeping on the bank for his safety, whom he could not dissuade from leaping into it. Thus these two men lived for some years last past, shunning each other, but still preserving the most passionate concern for their mutual welfare. But when they met they were as unreserved as boys, and talked of the greatest affairs, upon which they saw where they differed, without pressing (what they knew impossible) to convert each other."

STEELE'S ELECTION STRATAGEMS.

THE reputation Steele gained by his "Tatlers" led to his being made one of the Commissioners of the Stamp-office; but having an ambition to sit in the House of Commons, he soon resigned his appointment and stood candidate for Stockbridge. It is said he secured his election by kissing the voters' wives with guineas in his mouth. He did not, however, long enjoy his seat, for having published a pamphlet entitled "The Crisis," and a paper called "The Englishman," he was so severe upon the men in power, that the libels were made matter of accusation in the House, and he was

expelled by vote, March 15th of the same year. On the accession of George the First he was knighted, obtained official employment, and in 1722, desirous of again sitting in Parliament, stood for Wendover, and as before addressed himself especially to the ladies. He provided a handsome entertainment at the principal inn, and invited every voter, with his wife, to partake of it. Having by his humour, with the aid of wine, wrought his company up to a high pitch of mirth, Sir Richard took occasion to address the ladies, telling them that if what he was about to offer were agreeable to them, he hoped for their interest with their husbands to choose him as their representative. The women were all impatient to hear what he had to propose, and then Sir Richard said, "Ladies, I hope there is none here but who wishes herself to be the mother of a male child; and as an encouragement for all to use their best endeavours, I promise to each of you twenty guineas for every male child you shall bring into the world within these twelve months, and forty provided you bring twins." The time and manner of saying it, produced a good deal of love and a good deal of laughing; it gained upon the wives, and the wives upon their husbands; so that Sir Richard carried his election against a powerful opposition by a great majority.

STEELE'S TRIAL.

When Steele was brought to trial by the Tory party, in the reign of Queen Anne, the Whigs rallied to his support with what strength they could. Walpole and Stanhope took their place on either side of him as he waited at the bar, and Addison prompted him throughout his spirited and temperate defence.[1] But the most interesting occurrence of that day was the speech of Lord Finch. This young nobleman, afterwards famous as a minister and orator, owed gratitude to Steele for having repelled in the Guardian a libel on his sister, and he rose to make his maiden speech in defence of her defender. But bashfulness overcame him, and after a few confused sentences he sat down, crying out as he did so, "It is strange I cannot speak for this man, though I could readily fight for him!" Upon this, such cheering rang through the house, that suddenly the young lord took heart, rose again,

[1] See the General Dictionary by Birch and by Lockman, 10 vol. folio. Lond. 1741, art. 'Steele.' Also Steele's Correspondence by Nichols, (1809,) vol. i. p. 328—333.

and made the first of a long series of able and telling speeches. But of course it did not save Steele, who was expelled by a majority of nearly a hundred in a House of four hundred members.—*Quart. Rev.* cxcii.

ADDISON'S ACCOUNT OF STEELE'S EDINBURGH FROLIC.

In 1717 Sir Richard Steele was appointed one of the commissioners for inquiring into the estates forfeited by the late rebellion in Scotland. During his stay there, Steele indulged his taste for humour by searching into the manners of low life. With this view he prepared a splendid entertainment at Edinburgh, and ordered his servants to pick up all the beggars and poor people they could find in the streets as his guests. The servants had no difficulty in collecting a numerous company. Sir Richard soon found himself surrounded by above a hundred motley characters. After they had dined very heartily, he plied them with punch, ale, and whiskey. From this frolic, he declared to Addison that, besides the pleasure of filling so many empty bellies, he had derived enough humour to furnish a good comedy.

STEELE IN TROUBLE AGAIN.[1]

The following document, preserved in the State Paper Office, would appear to be Sir Richard's plea of his Parliamentary Privilege.

Upon the humble Petition of Sir Richard Steele, Knt., setting forth that John Cox, Gent., brought his Action in debt for one thousand one hundred pounds in His Majesty's Court of Exchequer, and obtained Judgment thereon against the Petitioner. That the Petitioner, by bringing a Writ of Error, did remove the Proceedings into the Council Chamber, but the said Writ of Error, for want of prosecution, was *non pros't*, and the Petitioner is no way relievable but by bringing a Writ of Error returnable in Parliament. He therefore prays His Majesty to bring and prosecute a Writ of Error accordingly.

Allowed in the usual manner.
14th Nov., 1717.

[1] A year previous to this (Nov. 20, 1716) Steele write to Lady Steele, "We had not when you left us an inch of candle, a pound of coal, or a bit of meat in the house; but we do not want now."

WHISTON'S CHARACTER OF STEELE.

Sir Richard was indeed eminent for wit, yet destitute of true wisdom, in the whole conduct of his life. He wrote very well, but lived very ill. He was a Christian in principle, but not in practice. However, not to go far out of my way in his character, I shall only set down one encounter I had with him at Button's Coffee-house, when he was a Member of Parliament, and had been making a speech in the House of Commons (in the days of George I.) to please the court, but against his own conscience. It was in favour of the South-sea Scheme, then under the great disgrace of the nation, and against which he had previously written weekly papers; but changed his course on finding that he could not else recover his post of Theatrical Censor, which used to bring him in some hundreds per annum. I accosted him thus: "They say, Sir Richard, you have been making a speech in the House of Commons for the South-sea Directors!" He replied, "They do say so." To which I answered, "How does this agree with your former writing against that Scheme?" His rejoinder was, "Mr. Whiston, *you can walk on foot, and I cannot.*"

CHARACTER OF STEELE.

Macaulay, in his powerfully sketched character of Steele, says, "Steele had known Addison from childhood. They had been together at the Charter House and at Oxford; but circumstances had then, for a time, separated them widely. Steele had left college without taking a degree, had been disinherited by a rich relation, had led a vagrant life, had served in the army, had tried to find the philosopher's stone, and had written a religious treatise and several comedies. He was one of those people whom it is impossible either to hate or respect. His temper was sweet, his affections warm, his spirits lively; his passions strong, and his principles weak. His life was spent in sinning and repenting; in inculcating what was right, and doing what was wrong. In speculation he was a man of piety and honour; in practice was much of the rake and a little of the swindler."

Against which rather severe strictures the able writer of the article "Steele," in the Quarterly, cxcii., appeals, and

it is thought successfully. The inquirer should read both articles.

ADDISON'S CATO.

WHEN Addison was a student at Oxford, he sent up his tragedy of Cato to his friend Dryden, as a proper person to recommend it to the theatre if it deserved it; who returned it with great commendation, but with his opinion that on the stage it would not meet with its deserved success. But though the performance was denied the theatre, it brought its author to the public stage of life. For, persons in power inquiring soon after of the head of the college for a youth of parts, Addison was recommended, and readily received, by means of the great reputation which Dryden had just then spread of him as above.—*Young*.

There is considerable discordance in the evidence as to when Cato was written. Tonson, who was very likely to know, says he wrote the first four acts abroad; and Mr. Macaulay, in the same opinion, says, "It is well known that about this time (when he was in Venice in 1701) he began his tragedy, and that he finished the first four acts before he came to England." Mr. Macaulay thinks, too, that he was indebted for the hint to a ridiculous play of the name performed during the Carnival.—Tickell says, "The tragedy of Cato appeared in public in the year 1713, when the greatest part of the last act was added by the author to the foregoing, which he had kept by him for many years. He took up a design of writing a play upon this subject when he was very young, at the University, and even attempted something in it there, though not a line as it now stands. The work was performed by him in his travels, and retouched in England, without any formed resolution of bringing it upon the stage, till his friends of the first quality and distinction prevailed with him to put the last finishing to it, at a time when they thought the doctrine of liberty very seasonable."

CATO. HUGHES.

THE tragedy of Cato was first acted in the year 1713, and was brought upon the stage in a great measure owing to Mr. Hughes. It had been affirmed by good judges that Cato was not a proper subject for a dramatic poem. That the character

of a stoic philosopher is inconsistent with the hurry and tumult of action and passion, which are the soul of tragedy. That the ingenious author had miscarried in the plan of his work, but supported it by the dignity, the purity, the beauty, and justness of the sentiments. This was so much the opinion of Mr. Maynwaring,[1] who was generally allowed to be one of the best critics of the time, that he was against bringing the play upon the stage, and it lay by unfinished several years. That it was played at last was owing to Mr. Hughes. He had read the four acts which were finished, and thought it would be of service to the public to have it represented at the end of Queen Anne's reign, when the old English spirit of liberty was thought to be in danger. He endeavoured to bring Mr. Addison into his opinion, which he did so far as to procure his consent that it should be acted if Mr. Hughes would write the last act. He excused his not finishing it himself, on account of some other avocations, and pressed Mr. Hughes to do it so earnestly, that he was prevailed on, and set about it. But, a week after, seeing Mr. Addison again, with an intention to communicate to him what he had thought of it, he was agreeably surprised at his producing some papers, where near half of the act was written by the author himself, who, it is said, took fire at the hint that it would be serviceable, and upon a second reflection went on with it; not that he was diffident of Mr. Hughes's ability, but knowing that no man could have so perfect an idea of his design as himself. "I was told this," says Mr. Maynwaring, "by Mr. Hughes; and I tell it, to show that it was not for the love scenes that Mr. Addison consented to have his tragedy acted, but to support the old Roman and English public spirit among his countrymen."

POPE AND CATO.

When Addison had finished his tragedy of Cato he brought it to Pope, and left it with him three or four days for his opinion. Pope, with much freedom, told him that he thought he had better not exhibit it on the stage; and added, that by printing it only as a classical performance he might make it turn to a profitable account, as the piece was very well penned, though not theatrical enough to succeed on the stage. Mr. Addison assured him that he coincided with him

[1] Arthur Maynwaring, Esq. author of the Medley, &c. See *ante*, p. 340.

in opinion, and seemed disposed to follow his advice: but some time after he told him that some friends, whom he was cautious of disobliging, insisted on his bringing it on the stage.

The Prologue to Cato was written by Mr. Pope, at the urgent request of Mr. Addison, and is allowed by most of the critics to be even superior to any of Dryden's. Pope had worded the Prologue thus,

> "Britons, *arise*, be worth like this approved,
> And show you have the virtue to be moved;"

but Mr. Addison, apprehensive of party imputations on this occasion, very strongly objected to the boldness of the expression, saying it would be called stirring the people to rebellion, and, therefore, earnestly begged of Mr. Pope to soften it by substituting something less obnoxious. On this account it was altered, as it now stands, to "Britons, *attend*."

RECEPTION OF CATO ON THE STAGE.

Pope, in a letter to Sir William Trumbull, (April 30th, 1713,) gives the following account: "Cato was not so much the wonder of Rome in his days as he is of Britain in ours; and though all the foolish industry possible has been used to make it thought a party play, yet what the author once said of another may the most properly in the world be applied to him on this occasion:

> "Envy itself is dumb, in wonder lost,
> And factions strive who shall applaud him most."

When it was first acted, the numerous and violent claps of the Whig party on the one side of the theatre were echoed back by the Tories on the other; while the author sweated behind the scenes with concern, to find their applause proceeding more from the hand than the head. This was the case, too, of the prologue-writer,[1] who was clapped into a staunch Whig at almost every two lines. I believe you have heard that after all the applauses of the opposite faction, my Lord Bolingbroke sent for Booth, who played Cato, into the box, between one of the acts, and presented him with fifty guineas; in acknowledgment (as he expressed it) for defend-

[1] Mr. Pope himself, whose Prologue to Cato is considered a perfect model of this style of composition.

ing the cause of liberty so well against a perpetual dictator.[1] The Whigs are unwilling to be distanced this way, and therefore design a present to the same Cato very speedily; in the mean time they are getting ready as good a sentence as the former on their side: so betwixt them it is probable that Cato (as Dr. Garth expressed it) may have something to live upon after he dies."

THAT CANKER'D BOLINGBROKE.

WHEN Addison spoke of the Secretary of State at that time, he always called him, in the language of Shakspeare, "That canker'd Bolingbroke:" notwithstanding this, Addison assured Pope he did not bring his tragedy on the stage with any party views; nay, desired Pope to carry the piece to the Lords Oxford and Bolingbroke for their perusal. The play, however, was always considered as a warning to the people, that liberty was in danger during that Tory ministry.

COLLEY CIBBER'S ACCOUNT OF CATO.

"FROM this time to the year 1712," says Cibber, "my memory has nothing worth mentioning, till the first acting of the tragedy of Cato. As its success was attended with remarkable consequences, it may not be amiss to trace it, from its several years' concealment in the closet, to the stage.

"In 1703, nine years before it was acted, I had the pleasure of reading the four first acts (which was all of it then written) privately with Sir Richard Steele: it may be needless to say, it was impossible to lay them out of my hand till I had gone through them; or to dwell upon the delight his friendship to the author received, upon my being so warmly pleased by them. But my satisfaction was as highly disappointed when he told me, whatever spirit Mr. Addison had shown in his writing it, he doubted he would never have courage enough to let his Cato stand the censure of an English audience; that it had only been the amusement of his leisure hours in Italy, and was never intended for the stage. This poetical diffidence Sir Richard spoke of with some concern, and in the transport of his imagination could not help

[1] Pope says, this was a pungent allusion to the attempt which Marlborough made, not long before his fall, to obtain a patent creating him Captain-general for life.

saying, 'Good God! what a part would Betterton make of Cato!' This was seven years before Betterton died, and when Booth (who afterwards made his fortune by acting it) was in his theatrical minority. In the latter end of Queen Anne's reign, when our national politics had changed hands, the friends of Mr. Addison then thought it a proper time to animate the public with the sentiments of Cato: in a word, their importunities were too warm to be resisted; and it was no sooner finished than hurried to the stage, in April, 1712, and was acted every day (Mondays excepted) for a month, to constantly crowded houses. As the author had made us a present of whatever profits he might have claimed from it, we thought ourselves obliged to spare no cost in the proper decorations of it."

PUBLIC RECEPTION OF CATO.

As the night which was to seal the fate of Cato approached, the anxiety and timidity of Addison increased. During the representation he was so agitated between hope and fear that, while he remained retired in the green-room, he kept a person continually going backwards and forwards, from the stage to the place where he was, to inform him how it succeeded; and till the whole was over, and the success confirmed, he never ventured to move. Its reception compensated the sufferings of the author; and a successive representation of five-and-thirty nights was an unprecedented proof of the admiration of the public.

"CATO" ACTED AT OXFORD.

"CATO being the flower of a plant raised in that learned garden, (for there Mr. Addison had his education,) what favour may we not suppose due to him from an audience of brethren, who, from that local relation to him, might naturally have a warmer pleasure in their benevolence to his fame. But not to give more weight to this imaginary circumstance than it may bear, the fact was, that on our first day of acting it our house was, in a manner, invested, and entrance demanded, by twelve o'clock at noon; and before one it was not wide enough for many who came too late for their places. The same crowds continued for three days together, an un-

common curiosity in that place; and the *death of Cato* triumphed over the *injuries of Cæsar* everywhere."

Colley Cibber.

QUEEN ANNE'S PRAISE OF CATO.

QUEEN Anne bestowed great praise on Addison's Cato, and intimated a wish that the tragedy should be dedicated to her. The author had proposed to inscribe it to another personage, (it is said the Duchess of Marlborough,) but at length published it without any dedication, and by that means, as Tickell says, neither offended his duty nor his honour.

CATO BURLESQUED.

LORD Egmont, in his manuscript collections, has related an instance of Mr. Addison's jealousy with regard to his reputation. Having heard that a gentleman had, for his diversion, turned eight lines of Cato into burlesque, he could not rest, till by the interposition of a friend he prevailed upon the author to burn them.

*** There have since been various Parodies on Cato's Soliloquy; we give one from an old manuscript volume in the hand-writing of Joseph Gulston, the celebrated book-collector.

A PARODY ON CATO'S SOLILOQUY.

WRITTEN IN A COUNTRY ASSEMBLY-ROOM WHILE WAITING FOR THE FIDDLERS.

It must be so—music, thou charmest well—
Else whence this pleasing hope, this fond desire,
This longing after dancing!
Or whence this secret dread, and inward thought,
Of absent fiddlers! Why shrinks the body
Into itself, and slumbers with inaction!
It is the joy that moves within us:
'Tis life itself that points out to us dancing,
And intimateth harmony to man.
Harmony! what pleasing cheerful sounds!
O'er what variety of well-tuned strings,
Through what numerous instruments may ye pass!
The viol, lute, the harp, all lie before me,
But only dirt and clouds of dust rest on them.
Here will I hold. If there is a fiddler,
(And that there is one all the parish knows,)

Through all her alehouses he must delight to play ;
And that which he delights in, makes us happy :
But who, or where, this drunken fellow is—
I 'm weary of conjectures.—This will end 'em.—
[*Enter Fiddler.*

DR. YOUNG'S CRITICISM ON CATO.

Among the brightest of the moderns Mr. Addison must take his place. He had what Dryden and Ben Jonson wanted for the composition of tragedy—a warm and feeling heart, but concealed it through a philosophic reserve and moral prudery. At his celebrated Cato few tears are shed, except by the noble few who love their country better than themselves ; the bulk of mankind want virtue enough to be touched. His strength of genius has reared up one glorious image ; but terror and pity, to excite which is the object of tragedy, are neglected through the whole. The poet, like his hero, becomes a sort of suicide, and the drama dies ; the charms of his poetry are but as rich spices to embalm the tragedy deceased. Pathos is the life and soul of tragedy, and charms us through a thousand faults ; but Addison is himself, as he says of Cato, *ambitiously sententious;* his beauties sparkle but do not warm : there is indeed a constellation of these in his play ; there is the philosopher, patriot, orator, and poet ; but where is the tragedian ? Dryden seems to have been of the same opinion ; for when this play was sent to him to recommend it to the theatre, he returned it with many commendations, but with his opinion that on the stage it would not meet with its deserved success. There is this similitude between the poet and the play ; the latter was fitter for the closet than the stage, and the former shone brighter in private conversation than public life.

He who sees not much beauty in Cato has no taste for poetry ; he who sees nothing else has no taste for the stage : whilst it justifies censure it extorts applause ; it is much to be admired, but little to be felt. Had it not been a tragedy, it had been immortal ; as it is a tragedy, its uncommon fate somewhat resembles his, who for conquering gloriously was condemned to die. Both shone ; but shone fatally, because in breach of their respective laws, the laws of drama and the laws of arms. But how rich in reputation must that author be who can spare a Cato and not feel the loss !

Cato, in many views, is an exquisite piece; but there is so much more of art than nature in it that we can scarce forbear calling it an exquisite piece of statuary: in Addison's own words,

> Where the smooth chisel all its skill has shown,
> To soften into flesh the rugged stone.

That is, where art has taken great pains to labour undramatic matter into dramatic life; which is impossible. However, as it is, like Pygmalion, we cannot but fall in love with it, and wish it was alive.

VOLTAIRE'S OPINION OF ADDISON'S CATO.

"The first English writer," says Voltaire, "who composed a regular tragedy, and infused a spirit of elegance through every part of it, was the illustrious Mr. Addison. His Cato is a master-piece, both with regard to the diction and the harmony and beauty of the numbers. The character of Cato is, in my opinion, greatly superior to that of Cornelia in the Pompey of Corneille: for Cato is great without anything of fustian; and Cornelia, who besides is not a necessary character, tends sometimes to bombast.—Mr. Addison's Cato appears to me to be the greatest character that ever was brought upon any stage: but then the rest of them do not correspond to the dignity of this; and this dramatic piece, so excellently well written, is disfigured by a dull love-plot,[1] which spreads a certain languor over the whole, that destroys the beauty of it." He proceeds afterwards to say, that "the custom of introducing love at random, and at any rate, into the drama, passed from Paris to London about 1660, with our ribbons and our perruques. The ladies, who adorn the theatrical circle there in the same manner as in this city, (Paris,) will suffer love only to be the theme of every conversation. The judicious Mr. Addison had the effeminate complaisance to soften the severity of his dramatic character so as to adapt it to the manners of the age; and, from an endeavour to please, quite ruined a master-piece in its kind."

[1] It has been assumed by critics that Addison originally wrote his Cato without the love-plot, and inserted it afterwards in compliance with the taste of the stage. Pope (in Spence) says that the rigid love scenes which now form so considerable a portion of the tragedy were not in Addison's first draught, but were introduced in compliance with the popular practice of the stage.

VOLTAIRE.

THE honours to which Mr. Addison was raised and the wealth he obtained by his literary pursuits made M. Voltaire observe, "That had he been in France he would have been elected a member of one of the Academies; and, by the credit of some women, might have obtained a yearly pension of twelve hundred livres; or else might have been imprisoned in the Bastille, upon pretence that certain strokes in his tragedy of Cato had been discovered to have glanced at the porter of some man in power."

STEELE'S JUDGMENT OF THE LOVE-PLOT IN CATO.

STEELE'S opinion of the love-plot in "Cato" is very opposite to Voltaire's.

"In our degenerate age," says Steele, "the poet must have more than ordinary skill to raise the admiration of the audience so high, in the great and public parts of his drama, as to make a loose people attend to a passion which they never, or very faintly, felt in their own bosoms. That *perfect* piece, called *Cato*, which has done so great honour to our nation and language, excels as much in the passions of its lovers as in the sublime sentiments of its hero; their generous love, which is more heroic than any concern in the chief characters of most dramas, makes but subordinate characters in this."

JOHN DENNIS'S REVIEW OF CATO.

BY what may be termed a contretemps in literature, Dennis became a furious antagonist of Addison. It appears that Sir Richard Steele had promised our critic to take some opportunity of mentioning his works in public with advantage, and thereby of promoting his reputation. It, however, unfortunately happened, that Mr. Addison, who, probably, knew nothing of Sir Richard's engagement, quoted, in his paper upon Laughter, the two following lines, which he calls humorous and well-expressed, from Mr. Dennis's translation of one of Boileau's satires:

> "Thus one fool lolls his tongue out at another,
> And shakes his empty noddle at his brother."

Mistaking this quotation for the performance of Sir Richard

Steele's promise, our author published a letter to the Spectator, full of resentment, and which strongly marks the irritability of his disposition. Conceiving that he had been very ill used, no sooner did Cato make its appearance from the press, than he attacked it with the utmost virulence. His review was first published in a 4to pamphlet, (in 1713,) and is amusing from its excessive malignity. No doubt it is in some parts as witty and ingenious as it is bitter. Johnson gives large extracts from it, more, it is thought, than the occasion warrants. A few lines from the preface (not hitherto quoted) will serve to show its animus: "I have maturely considered both the general and the violent applause with which that tragedy (Cato) has been received; that it was acted twenty days together; that *ten thousand* of 'em have been sold since the time it was printed; that even authors have published their approbation of it who never before liked anything but themselves; that Squire *Ironside*, that grave offspring of ludicrous ancestors, has appeared at the head of them; and that things have been carried that amazing height either by *French* extravagance or *English industry*, that a Frenchman is now actually translating this play into *French*, which is a thing beyond example.—That as for Squire *Ironside*, he comes of a race that has been most unfortunate in their talents for criticism; that his grandfather, Squire *Bickerstaff*, who was sometimes entertaining in other things, was never in the right when he pretended to judge of poetry; that his father, *Mr. Spectator*, had been so merrily in the wrong as to take pains to reconcile us to the old doggrel of *Chevy-Chase* and the *Three Children*, and to put Impotence and Imbecility upon us for Simplicity; that he had published a certain Criticism upon Milton, in which the reverse of almost everything that he has affirmed is true; that he has had the assurance to say in it, that the *Paradise Lost* of *Milton* has an unity of action.",

Pope is supposed to allude to Dennis in the following couplet in his Essay on Criticism:

> "Some have at first for wits then poets past,
> Turned critics next, and proved plain fools at last."

Dennis coming to these lines one day when reading the book in Lintot's shop, he threw it down in a terrible fury, exclaiming, By G—d, he means me.

ADDISON'S "DRUMMER."

It was currently reported in the neighbourhood of Tadworth (not far from Amesbury) that the house of Mr. Mompessim of that town was infested with a demon. Upon this story, related to him in early life, it is said Mr. Addison imbibed the first idea of writing his play of "The Drummer, or the Haunted House."

ADDISON'S DIFFIDENCE IN PARLIAMENT.

From Mr. Addison's excessive bashfulness, he was never able to speak in parliament; a very important inconvenience this, especially during the period that he held the high office of Secretary of State, as he was thereby incapable of explaining to friends, or vindicating to opponents, the measures he supported. [This statement is given in Sir R. Phillips's "Addisoniana," and appears to be on some foundation, as Addison's cousin, Eustace Budgell, in his Life of the Earl of Orrery, says, "What qualities must we conceive requisite to form a public speaker, when we see such men as the late Earl of Orrery, the late Earl of Shaftesbury, the late Mr. Addison, Mr. Prior, and Mr. Maynwaring, sit silent; while —— and —— and —— and —— hold forth upon every subject that falls under debate?"]

ADDISON'S DIFFIDENCE EXEMPLIFIED.

At the time of debating the Union Act, in the House of Commons, (1706,) he rose up, and, addressing himself to the Speaker, said—"Mr. Speaker, I conceive"—he could go no further; then rising again he said—"Mr. Speaker, I conceive"—still unable to proceed, he sat down again. A third time he arose, and was still unable to say anything more than—"Mr. Speaker, I conceive"—when a certain young member, possessed of more effrontery and volubility, arose and said, "Mr. Speaker, I am sorry to find that the honourable gentleman over the way has conceived three times, and brought forth nothing."[1]

[1] Although not cited by our English biographers of Addison, this joke is given in the Biographie Universelle with the following variation and comment. "Monsieur, les trois avortements dont nous venons d'être temoins,

[We give this standing joke as we find it in "Joe Miller." But Mr. Macaulay doubts this extreme timidity, and says that a little later, when Addison was member for the Irish borough of Cavan, his name frequently occurs in the Journals of two sessions. No actual speeches, however, are there recorded, but merely minutes. Mr. Addison was returned for the borough of Cavan, May 13, 1709. In the Irish Journals we find only eight entries respecting him after he took his seat, four of which are short notices of adjournment, viz. June 29th, July 28th, Aug. 10th, 1709, and June 24th, 1701. The other four have, perhaps, just enough interest to deserve a place here.]

MINUTES OF ADDISON'S PARLIAMENTARY SPEECHES IN IRELAND.

Mercurii, 10 *die Augusti*, 1709.] Mr. Secretary Addison informed the House, that His Excellency the Lord-Lieutenant had received from her Majesty an Answer to the Address of this House, that the outlawries of persons guilty of the rebellions in one thousand six hundred and forty-one, and one thousand six hundred and eighty, may so remain of force; which he delivered at the Table.

Lunæ, 22 *die Maii*, 1710.] Mr. Addison reported from the Committee appointed to prepare an Address to her Majesty, to congratulate her Majesty upon the early successes of her Majesty's arms this present campaign, and the prospect which they give us of a lasting and honourable Peace, that they had prepared an Address accordingly; which he read in his place, and after delivered at the Table, where the same was again read, and afterwards read paragraph by paragraph, and agreed to by the House, *nemine contradicente*, without any Amendment; which Address is as followeth:

To THE QUEEN'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY. The humble Address of the Knights, Citizens, and Burgesses in Parliament assembled.

May it please Your Majesty,

We, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects the Commons of Ireland in Parliament assembled, cannot meet without acknowledging Your Majesty's great favour and goodness which calls us together, and humbly begging leave to assure Your Majesty, that

de la part d'un Auteur connu par sa fécondité, prouvent évidemment la faiblesse de la cause qu'il voulait défendre." La figure des *avortements* excita dans la Chambre un grand éclat de rire, qui contribua, sans doute, à dégoûter tout-à-fait Addison de l'ambition de se montrer comme orateur.

we shall, with all becoming cheerfulness and gratitude, endeavour to answer the ends of this our meeting.

We do, at the same time, in the most dutiful and humble manner, congratulate Your Majesty upon the great and early successes of Your Majesty's arms in the present campaign, under the conduct of your renowned and victorious General, the Duke of Marlborough, which open to us a prospect of further victories, or of such a lasting and honourable Peace, as we may justly promise ourselves from those already gained.

As the glory of Your Majesty's arms abroad, and the wisdom and justice of your administration at home, make us regard Your Majesty as the greatest and best of Princes; so we are resolved to embrace all opportunities of showing ourselves the most dutiful and loyal of subjects.

And to the end that, as much as in us lies, we may convey unto our posterity those inestimable blessings restored to us by the late happy Revolution, continued and improved under Your Majesty's most auspicious reign, we shall be ready to hazard all that is dear and valuable to us, in the defence and support of Your Majesty's most sacred person and government, of our present happy Constitution, and the Church as by law established, and of the succession in the Protestant line, as the same stands settled by Acts of Parliament lately made in England.

Resolved, *nemine contradicente*, that the said Address do stand the Address of this House to Her Majesty.

Lunæ, 3 *die Junii*, 1710.] Mr. Secretary Addison informed the House, that he was commanded by His Excellency the Lord-Lieutenant so acquaint the House, that Her Majesty had been pleased to return a most gracious Answer to the Address of this House; which he read in his place, and after delivered at the Table, and the same was again read by Mr. Speaker, and is as followeth:

Anne R.

Her Majesty thanks the House of Commons for their loyal and dutiful Address, so full of expressions of zeal for her person and government, the Established Church and the Protestant Succession as settled by law, and assures them of her constant concern for the welfare of the Kingdom.

Ordered, That Her Majesty's most gracious Answer to the Address of this House be entered in the Journal of this House.

Sabbati, 28 *die Julii*, 1711.] That it appears to your Sub-committee,[1] that since the thirty-first day of March, 1709, at which time the establishment of the Civil and Military Lists bears date, that the said Civil List is advanced in the following particulars,

[1] Appointed to examine the Public Accompts.

viz.—By a grant to Mr. Addison, as Keeper of the Records of the Birmingham Tower, of four hundred pounds per annum, which exceeds the former salary *three and ninety pounds.*[1] 390 - 0 - 0.

FASTIDIOUSNESS OF ADDISON.

FREE and elegant as was the accustomed style of Addison, it is well known that, on many occasions, he could not satisfy the fastidiousness of his taste in his own compositions. Pope used to say of Addison, in his style of accustomed severity, that he could not issue an order from his office without losing his time in quest of fine expressions. It was his official business to write to Hanover that Queen Anne was dead: he found it so difficult to express himself suitably to his own notions of the importance of the event, that the lords of the regency were obliged to employ a Mr. Southwell, one of the clerks. Southwell stated the fact, as he was ordered, in the ordinary perspicuity of business; and then boasted of his superiority to Addison, in having readily done that which Addison attempting to do had failed.[2]

FURTHER TESTIMONY TO ADDISON'S CONVERSATIONAL POWERS.

ALTHOUGH Addison was timid and shy in public companies, yet no man was a more interesting companion in private. Of his private colloquial powers both his friends and enemies have borne sufficient testimony. "He was," says Steele, "above all men in that talent called humour, and enjoyed it in such perfection, that I have often reflected, after a night spent with him apart from all the world, that I had had the pleasure of conversing with an intimate acquaint-

[1] It will be perceived that the last item (with all allowance for the difference of Irish money, if so paid,) makes his Irish appointment considerably more than is recorded by his biographers. In our note at page 427, the salary is stated, on accepted authority, at £300 per annum. Since then the official grants have turned up, and show that the salary was at first four, then five hundred per annum, independent of the fees referred to in the anecdote at page 68.

[2] The present volumes afford no confirmation of this oft-repeated assertion. On the contrary, there is evidence of great facility in letter-writing. Pope was always ready to propagate any report prejudicial to the reputation of a rival. Macaulay very properly treats it as an idle tradition. It is very possible Addison might not have known the office form in which this mechanical business was to be performed.

ance of Terence and Catullus, who had all their wit and nature, heightened with humour, more exquisite and delightful than any other man ever possessed." This is the fondness of a friend: let us hear what is told us by a rival—"Addison's conversation," says Pope, "had something in it more charming than I have found in any other man. But this was only when familiar: before strangers, or perhaps a single stranger, he preserved his dignity by a stiff silence."

STEELE'S PORTRAIT OF ADDISON.

STEELE, in his Tatler 252, in speaking of the utility of wine to the bashful, draws a portrait evidently meant for our author: "I have the good fortune" (says he) "to be intimate with a gentleman remarkable for this temper, (bashfulness,) who has an inexhaustible source of wit to entertain the curious, the grave, the humorous, and the frolic. He can transform himself into different shapes, and suit himself to every company; yet in a coffee-house, or in the ordinary course of affairs, he appears rather dull than sprightly. You can seldom get him to the tavern; but when once he is arrived to his pint, and begins to look about and like his company, you admire a thousand things in him, which before lay buried. Then you discern the brightness of his mind, and the strength of his judgment, accompanied with the most graceful mirth. In a word, by this enlivening aid, he is whatever is polite, instructive, and diverting. What makes him still more agreeable is, that he tells a story, serious or comical, with as much delicacy of humour as Cervantes himself."

ADDISON'S MODE OF COMPOSITION.

STEELE used to say, that when Addison had taken his resolution, or made his plan for what he designed to write, he would walk about a room, and dictate it into language with as much freedom and ease as any one could write it down, and attend to the coherence and grammar of what he dictated.

Even Pope declared that he *wrote* very fluently, but was slow and scrupulous in *correcting;* that many of his Spectators were written very fast, and sent immediately to the press; and that it seemed to be for his advantage not to have time for much revisal. "He would alter," says he, "anything to

please his friend before publication, but would not retouch his pieces afterwards; and I believe not one word of Cato, to which I made an objection, was suffered to stand."

ADDISON'S HUMOROUS ACQUIESCENCE.

ONE slight lineament of the character of Addison Swift has preserved. It was his practice, when he found any man invincibly wrong, to flatter his opinions by acquiescence, and sink him yet deeper in absurdity. This artifice of mischief was admired by Stella.

ADDISON'S KNOWLEDGE OF THE HUMAN CHARACTER.

IT appears, notwithstanding his bashfulness and timidity, that Addison had conversed with many distinct classes of men, had surveyed their ways with very diligent observation, and marked, with great acuteness, the effect of different modes of life.

He was a man in whose presence nothing reprehensible was out of danger; quick in discerning whatever was wrong or ridiculous, and not unwilling to expose it. "There are," says Steele, "in his writings many oblique strokes upon some of the wittiest men of the age." His delight was more to excite *merriment* than *detestation;* and he detects *follies* rather than *crimes.*

Dr. Johnson beautifully says of him, "He had read with critical eyes the important volume of Human Life, and knew the heart of man from the depths of stratagem to the surface of affectation."

ADDISON'S DEFINITION OF CONVERSATION.

EUSTACE Budgell reports of Addison that he used to say, "There was no such thing as real conversation between more than two persons." He defined a man's talking to a friend, in whom he had entire confidence, *thinking aloud.*"

FASTIDIOUSNESS OF ADDISON, NEGLIGENCE OF STEELE.

THE fastidiousness of Addison, in regard to his literary compositions, is no less remarkable than the general negligence of his friend and coadjutor Steele.

Mr. Richard Nutt, one of the first printers of the Tatler,

remembered that the press was stopped, and not seldom; but not always by Addison, as has been affirmed, solely for the sake of inserting new prepositions or conjunctions; it was often stopped, he said, *for want of copy*. In these cases he had sometimes a hard task to find out Steele, who frequently furnished him with the needful supply, written hastily in a room adjoining to the printing-office. Mr. Nutt mentioned one particular paper which he saw rapidly written by Steele, at midnight, and in bed, whilst he waited to carry it to the press.

LORD BOLINGBROKE'S PRINCIPLES.

Of Lord Bolingbroke Mr. Addison said to a friend for whom he had no secrets, that he was heartily sorry his principles[1] forced him to oppose one of the greatest and most accomplished men he had ever seen; and in whose conversation he could have thought himself so truly happy.

COMPARISON OF ADDISON, BOLINGBROKE, AND SWIFT.

"The triumvirate to whom we owe an elegance and propriety unknown to our forefathers are, (says Lord Orrery,) Swift, Addison, and Bolingbroke. At the sight of such names, no dispute can arise in preferring the English moderns to the English ancients. The present century, and indeed all future generations, may be congratulated upon the acquisition of three such men."

Speaking of the eminent writers in the reign of Queen Anne, his Lordship says, "Of these Dr. Tillotson and Mr. Addison (after his favourite, Swift) are to be numbered among the most eminent. Addison has all the powers that can captivate and improve: his diction is easy, his periods are well-turned, his expressions are flowing, and his humour is delicate. Tillotson is nervous, grave, majestic, and perspicuous. We must join both these characters together to form a true idea of Dr. Swift."

COWLEY.

Mr. Addison observed of Cowley, that the redundancy of his wit had done him more harm than the deficiency of it

[1] Bolingbroke was a Tory, and an adherent of the Pretender. His infidel principles were not much known before his death, except to his friends.

had done other poets. Nor was this the fault of Mr. Cowley alone, but of all the authors of that age. They were not only *inspired* but *transported* with the *furor poeticus*. They gave the reins to their imaginations, and swept all that could be said on a subject with a drag-net.

BAYLE'S DICTIONARY.

HOWEVER highly Mr. Addison disapproved the general sceptical tendency of the writings of Bayle, it is said he was very fond of his Critical Dictionary; and old Jacob Tonson used to tell, that he seldom called upon Addison when he did not see Bayle's Dictionary lying open upon his table.

ADDISON'S REBUKE TO A BAD POET.

THE following story is told by a gentleman of great veracity, who, a few years since, was well known at Gray's Inn.

A certain author was introduced by a friend to Mr. Addison, who was desired to peruse and correct a copy of English verses, which were then presented to him. Addison took the verses, which he afterwards found very stupid; and observing that above twelve lines from Homer were prefixed to them by way of motto, he only erased the Greek lines, but did not make any amendments in the poem, and returned it. The author seeing this, desired his friend who had introduced him to inquire of Mr. Addison the reason of his doing it; expecting, however, to hear that his poem was so beautiful that it had no occasion for any foreign embellishment. But his friend putting the question to Addison, he said, "that whilst the statutes of Caligula remained all of a piece, they were little regarded by the people; but that when he fixed the heads of the gods upon unworthy shoulders he profaned *them*, and made *himself* ridiculous. I, therefore," says he, "made no more conscience to separate Homer's verses from this poem than the thief did who stole the silver head from the brazen body in Westminster Abbey."

FEES OF OFFICE.

WHEN Addison was appointed Keeper of the Records in Ireland, we are told by Swift that he resolved not to remit the regular fees in civility to his friends. "I may (said he)

have a hundred friends, and if my fee be two guineas, I shall, by relinquishing my right, lose two hundred guineas, and no friend gain more than the two. The evil suffered therefore exceeds, beyond all proportion, the benefit done."

ADDISON'S SINGULAR OPINION OF MONTAIGNE.

When Addison lodged at Kensington Square, he had a particular occasion to read over some of Montaigne's Essays, but finding little or no information in the chapters of what their titles promised, he flung the book by, rather wearied and confused than satisfied. Upon which a gentleman present said, "Well, what think you of this famous French author?" "Think!" said he, smiling; "why, that a pair of manacles or a stone doublet would probably have been of some service to the author's infirmity." "How, sir!" said the other; "what, imprison a man for a singularity in writing?" "Why, let me tell you, sir," replied Addison, "if he had been a horse, he would have been pounded for straying; and why he ought to be more favoured because he 's a man, I cannot understand."

ADDISON'S PROJECTED ENGLISH DICTIONARY.

In the project which Addison had formed of composing an English dictionary, he considered Archbishop Tillotson's writings as the chief standard of our language; and accordingly marked, as the groundwork of his design, the particular phrases in the sermons published during his Grace's lifetime. "There was formerly sent to me," says Dr. Johnson, "by Mr. Locker, clerk of the Leather-sellers' Company, who was eminent for curiosity and literature, a collection of examples selected from Tillotson's works, as Locker said, by Addison. It came too late to be of use, so I inspected it but slightly, and remember it indistinctly. I thought the passages too short."

PHILIP YORKE, EARL OF HARDWICKE.

The letter on "*Travelling*," Spectator, No. 364, was composed by the Earl of Hardwicke; who, at another time, on an occasional address to a friend upon the same subject, thus writes: "I cannot quit this head without paying my acknow-

ledgments to one of the most entertaining pieces this age has produced, for the pleasure it gave me. You will easily guess that the book I have in my hand is Mr. Addison's 'Remarks upon Italy.' That ingenious gentleman has with so much art and judgment applied his exact knowledge of all the parts of classical learning to illustrate the several occurrences in his travels, that his work alone is a pregnant proof of what I have said. Nobody that has a taste this way can read him going from Rome to Naples, and making Horace and Silius Italicus his chart, but he must feel some uneasiness in himself to reflect that he was not in his retinue. I am sure I wished it ten times in every page; and that not without a secret vanity to think in what a state I should have travelled the Appian road with Horace for a guide, and in company with a countryman of my own, who, of all men living, know best how to follow his steps."

CHARACTER OF ADDISON'S HUMOROUS PIECES.

Dr. Kippis summarily describes the character of Addison's humorous productions in these words: "There are none of his works in which his merit, as a graceful writer, more distinguishingly appears, than in his humorous pieces. His humour is so natural, so easy, so unaffected, that we never grow weary of it; and we shall find upon a diligent examination of the papers of this kind that it is prodigiously various and extensive. He scarcely ever descends to personal satire; and his ridicule of certain characters in life, while it is remarkably striking, is so gentle, that persons who answer to the characters must read him with pleasure. A wit which was so copious and inexhaustible, without trespassing against good nature, or offending against decency, is entitled to the highest admiration and applause."

ADDISON'S USE OF THE PRONOUN "ONE."

Addison is with justice esteemed the best model for the easy correct style of prose composition. He is, however, the last of the classical English authors who has made use of *one, a man*, as pronouns; as in these phrases, *one sees, a man observes*, the latter entirely obsolete, and the former nearly so. This phraseology prevails generally throughout his prose works. For example; in his travels he says, "If *a man con-*

siders the face of Italy in general, *one would* think that nature had laid it out into such a variety of states and governments as *one finds* in it."

There is a celebrated female writer who has frequently used this obsolete pronoun *one;* and probably with this ingenious lady the phrase will die, and she be the last found making use of it. In the very entertaining volumes of her travels, she says, "The contradictions *one meets* with every moment at Paris must strike even a cursory observer: a countess in the morning, her hair dressed, with diamonds too, perhaps, a dirty black handkerchief about her neck, and a flat silver ring on her finger like our alewives. A *femme publique*, dressed avowedly for the purpose of alluring the men, with not a very small crucifix hanging at her bosom." In another place, "I will tell nothing I did not see; and among the objects *one would* certainly avoid seeing if it were possible, is the deformity of the poor." Again, "*one has* heard of a horse being exhibited for a show at Venice; and yesterday I watched the poor people paying a penny a-piece for the sight of a stuffed one."

This pronoun *one* is borrowed by the English language from the modern French; and *a man*, from the *Romaunt* or ancient language of France. The French say at this day, *on dit*, one says; or, as it is now commonly rendered in English, it is said. This modern French *on* is, however, no other than the corruption of the *Romanz*, *hom dict* (quasi, homo dicit), a man says; and it was undoubtedly introduced into the English language by the Normans, and is yet prevailing in some of the provincial dialects of this country.

GREGORIO LETI'S PROGENY.

GREGORIO Leti, mentioned in the Spectator, No. 632, boasted that he had been the author of a book, and the father of a child, for twenty years successively.

Swift counted the number of steps he made from London to Chelsea; and it is said and demonstrated in the Parentalia, that Bishop Wren walked round the earth while a prisoner in the Tower of London.

GARTH'S INFIDELITY.

GARTH has been censured for voluptuousness, and accused of infidelity. Being one day questioned by Addison upon his religious creed, he is said to have replied, "that he was of the religion of wise men," and being urged to explain himself added, "that wise men kept their own secrets."

He is said by Atterbury to have written an Epitaph on St. Evremond, intended for Westminster Abbey, in which he was commended for his indifference to all religion; and Reinmann, who wrote a History of Atheism, has gone so far as to include Garth in his catalogue. In Lady Hervey's Letters, (p. 330,) we find this passage reported of him; "I vow to God, Madam, I take this to be hell—purgatory at least—we shall certainly be better off in any other world;" and Swift (Scott's ed. xviii. 302) records that Garth said he was glad when he was dying, for he was weary of having his shoes pulled off and on. In his last illness he did not use any remedies, but let his distemper take its course.

Pope, on the other hand, says, that "if ever there was a good Christian, without knowing himself to be so, it was Dr. Garth," and afterwards declared himself convinced that Garth died in the communion of the church of Rome, having been privately reconciled. On which, Dr. Johnson, quoting the words of Bp. Lowth, observes, "that there is less distance than is thought between scepticism and Popery; and that a mind, wearied with perplexed doubt, willingly seeks repose in an infallible church."

ADDISON AND GAY.

ADDISON and his friends had exclaimed so much against Gay's 'Three Hours after Marriage' for obscenities, that it provoked Gay to write 'A letter from a Lady in the City to a Lady in the Country,' on that subject. In it he quoted the passages which had been most exclaimed against, and opposed other passages to them from Addison's and Steele's plays. These were aggravated in the same manner that they had served his, and appeared worse. Had it been published it would have made Addison appear ridiculous, which he could bear as little as any man. "I therefore prevailed upon Gay not to print it, and have the manuscript now by me."—*Pope* (in *Spence*).

GAY.

A FORTNIGHT before Addison's death, Lord Warwick came to Gay, and pressed him in a very particular manner "to go and see Mr. Addison;" which he had not done for a great while. Gay went, and found Addison in a very weak way. He received him in the kindest manner, and told him, "that he had desired this visit to beg his pardon: that he had injured him greatly; but that if he lived he should find that he would make it up to him." Gay, on his going to Hanover, had great reason to hope for some good preferment;[1] but all his views came to nothing. It is not impossible but that Addison might have prevented them, from his thinking Gay too well with some of the great men of the former ministry. He did not at all explain himself in what he had injured him, and Gay could not guess at anything else in which he could have injured him so considerably.

MONSIEUR ST. EVREMOND.

IN 1664 M. St. Evremond published a work entitled judgment upon Seneca, Plutarch, and Petronius, in which he observes that Petronius's love for pleasures "did not render him an enemy to business; that he had the merit of a governor in his government of Bithynia, and the virtue of a consul in his consulship." He does not forget Petronius's death, which he considers as the most glorious of antiquity; and shows that it has something more great and noble in it than either that of Cato or Socrates. "Petronius," says he, "leaves us nothing at his death but an image of life: no action, no word, no circumstance, shows the perplexity of a dying man; it is with him properly that to die is to cease to live." Mr. Addison has made some animadversions upon this passage of M. St. Evremond, deserving our highest regard.[2]

Having observed that the end of a man's life is often compared to the winding up of a well-written play, where the principal persons still act in character, whatever the fate is which they undergo; he proceeds to say, "that there is scarce a great person in the Grecian or Roman history whose death has not been remarked upon by some writer or other, and cen-

[1] The present family had made strong promises to him.—MS.

[2] In Spectator, No. 349. See our vol. iii. p. 339.

sured or applauded *according to the genius or principles of the person who has descanted on it.*" "Monsieur de St. Evremond," continues he, "is very particular in setting forth the constancy and courage of Petronius Arbiter during his last moments, and thinks he discovers in them a greater firmness of mind and resolution than in the death of Seneca, Cato, or Socrates. There is no question but this polite author's affectation of appearing singular in his remarks, and making discoveries which escaped the observation of others, threw him into this course of reflection. It was Petronius's merit that he died in the same gaiety of temper in which he lived; but as his life was altogether loose and dissolute, the indifference which he showed at the close of it is to be looked upon as a piece of natural carelessness and levity, rather than fortitude. The resolution of Socrates proceeded from very different motives; the consciousness of a well-spent life, and the prospect of a happy eternity. If the ingenious author above mentioned was so pleased with gaiety of humour in a dying man, he might have found a much nobler instance of it in our countryman Sir Thomas More."[1]

PRACTICAL JOKE ON ADDISON.

It was the Marquis of Wharton who first got Addison a seat in the House of Commons; and soon after carried him down with him to Winchelsea. Addison was charmed with his son, (afterwards Duke of Wharton,) not only as the son of his patron, but for the uncommon degree of genius that appeared in him. He used to converse and walk often with him. One day the little lord led him to see some of their fine running-horses; there were very high gates to the fields, and at the first of them his young friend fumbled in his pockets, and seemed vastly concerned that he could not find the key. Addison said 'twas no matter, he could easily climb over it. As he said this he began mounting the bars, and when he was on the very top of the gate, the little lord whips out his key and sets the gate a-swinging, and so for some time kept the great man in that ridiculous situation.

Spence.

[1] In 1736 was published "The Works of Petronius Arbiter, translated by Mr. Addison, with the Life of Petronius and a character of his writings by Mons. St. Evremond, 12mo." But there is no evidence that it was translated by Joseph Addison.

WHIG PRINCIPLES.

ADDISON, when he first came over to Dublin as Secretary to the Earl of Wharton, (then Lord Lieutenant,) was extremely offended at the conduct and discourse of the chief managers here. "He told me they were a sort of people who seemed to think that the principles of a Whig consisted in nothing else but damning the church, reviling the clergy, abetting the dissenters, and speaking contemptuously of revealed religion."—*Swift's Letter to Pope*, Jan. 10, 1721.

PIPPIN-WOMAN.

THE story referred to by Addison in his Spectator, No. 247, is of an apple-woman, who, when the Thames was frozen over, was said to have her head cut off by the ice; and is humorously told in Gay's Trivia—

> The cracking crystal yields, she sinks, she dies;
> Her head, chopt off, from her lost shoulders flies;
> Pippins she cries, but death her voice confounds,
> And pip-pip-pip along the ice resounds.
>
> Book ii. ver. 375, &c.

AN HONEST ENGLISHMAN.

IN the manuscript collections of Lord Egmont it is said that Addison told him that an honest Englishman is a Tory in church matters, and a Whig in politics.

HUMOROUS VERSION OF A SPECTATOR-MOTTO.

> Nemo repente fuit turpissimus.—JUV. Sat. ii. 33.
>
> No man e'er reached the heights at first.—TATE.
>
> *Motto to Spectator*, No. 154, *Aug.* 27, 1711.

In the course of the publication of the Spectator, in folio, the paper, as it came, was commonly hung up within the bars of the coffee-houses at Oxford and Cambridge. A wag at the university, who stole in to read this number at a prohibited time, wrote the following translation under the motto:

> "It is a long while ere one becomes a *senior fellow*."

LADIES' HEAD-DRESSES.

"THERE is not so variable a thing in nature as a lady's head-dress. Within my own memory I have known it rise

and fall above thirty degrees. About ten years ago it shot up to a very great height, insomuch that the female part of our species were much taller than the men. The women were of such an enormous stature that we appeared as grasshoppers before them."—*Spectator*, No. 98, *June* 22, 1711.

It need scarcely be told that Addison is the author of this paper. The high head-dress he here refers to is the commode, (called by the French fontange,) a kind of head-dress worn by the ladies at the time mentioned, which by means of wire bore up the hair and fore-part of the cap, consisting of many folds of fine lace, to a prodigious height. The transition from this to the opposite extreme was very abrupt and sudden. [For a companion to these incommodious commodes, see the full-bottomed wig of the same period, described at our page 704.]

OPEN SHOPS IN LONDON.

"As for the article of building, I intend, hereafter, to enlarge upon it; having lately observed several warehouses, nay, private shops, that stand upon *Corinthian pillars*, and whole rows of *tin pots* showing themselves through a *sash window*."—*Tatler*, No. 162.

From the foregoing it is evident that "pillars and sash windows" were considered by the humorous writer as an unlicensed innovation, in the situations there alluded to. The shops in London did not begin to be enclosed and glazed, as at present, until about the year 1710; and at this day in many parts of the continent the shops very generally remain entirely open.

MISS AND MISTRESS.

At the period of the publication of the Tatlers we find many unmarried females addressed by the title of Mistress. Miss, a contraction of Mistress, appears in Miege's French Dictionary, 1688; but in 1709 the appellation of Miss seems to have had an idea of levity and childishness annexed to it, and to have been given only to girls not yet in their teens, or to indiscreet and inconsiderate young women. In Tatler, No. 9, the giddy Pastorella is styled Miss, but in No. 10 it is Mrs. Jenny Distaff, and she was only turned of twenty. Tatler, No. 33, a young lady ridiculed for her unbecoming

and injudicious head-dress is styled Miss Gruel. But in Tatler, No. 139, it is Mistress, and not Miss, Alice; and the same observation occurs in Tatler, No. 175, and in Tatler, No. 189, and in Spectator, No. 796. Depingle is named Madam in No. 7, and it is Madam Distaff in Tatler, No. 140. A young lady of nineteen is called Mistress in Spectator, No. 534. We meet with a Miss Liddy in Spectator, No. 306, and the title of honour given to her elder sister is Madam Martha, but her precise age is not mentioned.

In the original letters to the Tatler and Spectator, printed by Charles Lilly, there is a table of the titles and distinctions of women, from which what follows is extracted.—

"Let all country gentlewomen, without regard to more or less fortune, content themselves with being addressed by the title of *Mistress*.

"Let *Madam* govern independently in the city, &c.

"Let no woman assume the title of Lady without adding her name, to prove her right to it. Titles, flowing from real honour, support themselves. Let no woman, after the known age of twenty-one, presume to admit of her being called *Miss*, unless she can fully prove she is one out of her sampler. Let every common maid-servant be plain Jane, Doll, or Sue; and let the better born and higher placed be distinguished by Mrs. Patience, Mrs. Prue, or Mrs. Abigail."

WILL. HONEYCOMB.

THIS antiquated beau, described in Spectator, No. 2, under the name of Will. Honeycomb, is designed for a Major Cleland, of the Life Guards, whose son, a writer of considerable ability, was the author of many political tracts, and for several years a principal supporter of the newspaper called the Public Advertiser, when politics ran high under the administration of the Earl of Bute, and subsequently. It is to be lamented, as well on his own account as on that of morality, that his fame as a sensible and accomplished writer, possessing so great a diversity of talent that there is scarcely a subject which he has not treated, should have been obscured by the publication of a very immoral work,[1] which

[1] Alluding to that elegantly written but obscene work, F. H., or Memoirs of a Woman of Pleasure.

was, however, the production of his early youth. The character of the father is very justly delineated by Addison.

The eighth volume of the Spectator is dedicated to William Honeycomb, Esq.

ROWE.

ADDISON'S opinion of Rowe is thus reported by Dr. Warburton:—

"Rowe, in Mr. Pope's opinion, maintained a decent character, but had no heart. Mr. Addison was justly offended with some behaviour which arose from this want, and estranged himself from him, which Rowe felt very severely. Mr. Pope, their common friend, knowing this, took an opportunity, at some juncture of Addison's advancement, to tell him how poor Rowe was grieved at his displeasure, and what satisfaction he felt at his good fortune, which he expressed so naturally that he (Mr. Pope) could not but think him sincere. Mr. Addison replied, 'I do not suspect that he feigned; but the levity of his heart is such that he is struck with any new adventure; and it would affect him just in the same manner if he heard I was going to be hanged.'—Mr. Pope said he could not deny but Addison understood Rowe well."

MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT IN 1715-16.

STEELE wittily described the House of Commons at this time as consisting very much of silent people oppressed by the choice of a great deal to say, and of eloquent people ignorant that what they said was nothing to the purpose.

ADDISON'S COMPANIONS.

OF the course of Addison's familiar day, before his marriage, Pope his given a detail. He had in the house with him Budgell and perhaps Philips. His chief companions were Steele, Budgell, Pastoral Philips, (Walter) Cary, Davenant, and Colonel Brett. He used to breakfast with one or other of these at his lodgings in St. James's Place. Then, after studying all the morning, dined at a tavern, and spent the evening at Button's.

BUTTON'S COFFEE-HOUSE.

BUTTON had been a servant in the Countess of Warwick's family, and under the patronage of Addison, kept a coffee-house on the south side of Russel Street, about two doors from Covent Garden. Here it was that the wits of that time used to assemble. It is said, that when Addison had suffered any vexation from the Countess he would withdraw the company from Button's.

THE COUNTESS OF WARWICK.

THE precise time when Addison was introduced to the Warwick family, in the capacity of tutor [if ever he was so] to the young earl, is not ascertained. From the commencement, however, it is related, he had begun to conceive an attachment to the Countess. His extreme diffidence made his advances very timorous. She is said to have discovered his passion, and amused herself with it, before he assumed courage enough to declare himself her admirer. As his reputation and importance in the state advanced he ventured to solicit her with more confidence, and at last prevailed.[1]

It has been said that Addison first discovered his addresses would not be unacceptable, from the manner of her receiving such an article in the newspapers, of his own inserting, at which, when he read it to her, he affected to be much astonished.

In a MS. letter of Dr. Cheyne to Lord Harley, dated August 9, 1716, is the following anecdote:—"Lady Warwick's marriage with Mr. Addison is upon terms; he giving £4000 in lieu of some estate she loses for his sake."

[1] There is no actual evidence that Addison was ever tutor to the Earl of Warwick, although his fortunes were at times so low that he was not unlikely to have accepted such an appointment had it presented itself. The Earl of Warwick was only nine years old (in 1708) when the well-known Letters were addressed to him by Addison; and it is quite evident that, being Under Secretary of State at the time, he was not his tutor then, nor was he likely to have been afterwards. Tonson (as reported by Dr. Johnson from Spence) says "he formed the design of getting that lady from the time when he was first recommended into the family."—See *Lives of the Poets*, i. 144, &c.

ADDISON'S HONEY-MOON.

ADDISON was married to the Countess of Warwick Aug. 2nd, 1716, and they spent their honey-moon in Paris. In an unpublished letter of Mr. James Craggs, jun., dated Sept. 23, 1716, we are told that "the ladies are very airy, very much painted and powdered, and very fair drinkers."—"The weather, hitherto very fine, is grown very rainy; which makes Mr. Addison, my Lady Warwick, and Lord Warwick very peevish."

KENSINGTON.

AFTER his marriage, it is reported of Addison that he used frequently to go to a coffee-house at Kensington, to drink his solitary glass, and thus endeavour to forget his domestic uneasiness: and when at home that he used to retire to the picture-gallery at Holland House, now called the Long Room, to seek repose and the solace of strong waters. The tradition is that he placed a bottle and a glass at each end of it, and so alternately exercised his lips and his legs. That he must have been very popular at Kensington is evident from the places in the vicinity named after him.

ADDISON'S BENEVOLENCE TO MILTON'S DAUGHTER.

ADDISON'S respect for Milton evinced itself in the following instance of kindness to one of his children. Hearing that Mrs. Clark, Milton's daughter, was yet living, he one day sent for her. On being introduced to Addison, he told her, "that he knew who she was upon the first sight of her, by the similitude of her countenance with her father's picture." He had desired her, if she had any papers of her father's, she would bring them with her, as an evidence of her being Milton's daughter; but on seeing her, he said, "Madam, you need no other voucher; your face is a sufficient testimonial who you are;" and he then made her a handsome present of a purse of guineas, with a promise of procuring for her an annual provision for her life; but he dying soon after, she lost the benefit of this generous design.

ADDISON'S LAST DAYS.

WHISTON, (Memoirs, p. 303,) thus records his fruitless attempt to see Addison in his last sickness. "When I was at that time passing to the Queen at Richmond, by Holland House, where I knew by the public papers he was then sick, and from which sickness he was not likely to recover, I went up to the house and desired to see my friend Mr. Addison; but the answer was that the physicians had given orders that nobody should be admitted to see him. I replied that notwithstanding such order, if he knew I was there, I believed he would see me; but I could not prevail, so I saw him not.[1]

OFFICES HELD BY ADDISON.

IN Queen Anne's reign he was Commissioner of Appeals, attended Lord Halifax to Hanover, was under-secretary to Sir Charles Hedges and the Earl of Sunderland, Secretaries of State, and principal secretary to the Marquis of Wharton when that nobleman was Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland. After the accession of King George the First, Mr. Addison was successively appointed secretary to the Lords Justices, secretary to the Earl of Sunderland as Lieutenant of Ireland, and one of the Lords of Trade; and, last of all, Secretary of State. [And during nearly all this period he was Keeper of the Irish Records, deposited in the Birmingham Tower, Dublin.]

TICKELL'S ELEGY ON ADDISON.

IT was the opinion of Dr. Johnson that there is not a more elegant funeral poem to be found in the whole compass of English literature than Mr. Tickell's elegy on the death of Addison.[2]

ADDISON'S WORKS.—FATALITY OF THE DEDICATIONS.

IT is somewhat remarkable, that Mr. Craggs, to whom Addison had dedicated his works, died before they were pub-

[1] If the story of Addison's famous death-bed interview with the Earl of Warwick, (see page 514,) which would have taken place about this time, is to be accredited, it is not very likely that Addison would care to see so noted an anti-trinitarian as his early friend Whiston.

[2] Prefixed to vol. i. of the present edition.

lished; and that Lord Warwick, to whom the verses on Addison were dedicated, died likewise before their publication.

"Addison's works (says Atterbury, in a letter) came to my hands yesterday, October 15, 1721. I cannot but think it a very odd set of incidents, that the book should be dedicated by a dead man to a dead man (Mr. Craggs); and even that the new patron (Lord Warwick), to whom Tickell chose to inscribe his verses, should be dead also before they were published. Had I been in the editor's place I should have been a little apprehensive for myself, under a thought that every one who had any hand in that work was to die before the publication of it."

UNPUBLISHED PLAY ATTRIBUTED TO ADDISON.

In Steele's Correspondence, published by John Nichols in 1809, is the first act of a Tragedy said to be 'probably written' by Addison. The principal character is 'Oramont,' a pleasure-seeking youth, who, to save the family estates from a crown extent, is made to consent to his sister's prostitution. The following extracts will, we think, be sufficient to acquit Addison of the composition; for although there are occasionally some vigorous lines, he could not, even in his earliest youth, have written the concluding ones.

ORAMONT. Power, 'tis the darling attribute of Heaven!
And only given by Heaven to the brave.
Is it not great, my Martian, is it not,
To dart a blazing lustre all around one,
To be the first distinguished of mankind,
Admired, caressed, gazed at by gaping crowds,
Who, waiting, smile or tremble at one's nod?

MARTIAN. But she is wondrous proud; guard well your heart;
She may prove somewhat dangerous. Do you love her?

ORAMONT. Love her!—yes, to enjoy her, nothing further;
I scorn the childish ague of the soul,
That shakes and trembles; mine's a raging fever,
Burns to possess, and when possessed can quit.
From fair to fair I'll rove, possess, enjoy,
And prove Love's various pleasures, shun its pains.

ALTIMOR. Tell me, what think you of a woman's honour?
ORAMONT. Humph—nothing; or but a trifle, a gaudy flower,
With many fancied charms, no real ones;
The pleasure and the beauty of a day,
That fades with every little breath of wind.
ALTIMOR. Then would'st thou, Oramont, for this mere trifle,
Quit all thy hopes of honour and of power?
ORAMONT. No, on my soul I would not. What's the condition?
ALTIMOR. You have a sister.
ORAMONT. Yes.
ALTIMOR. A fair one.
ORAMONT. So she's thought.
ALTIMOR. I love her.
ORAMONT. No matter—I'd enjoy her—think on that.

ORAMONT. The sprightly lark thus, as he mounts the sky,
With scorn beholds his fellows from on high;
Upward he'll soar, and, with erected flight,
Aloft he'll shoot, and tower beyond our sight;
Towering he'll warble; warbling he will play,
Enjoy a warmer and a brighter day.

ADDISON'S HOUSE AT BILTON.

MR. Ireland, in his 'Views on the River Avon,' gives the following account of this classic spot.

"Quitting Rugby we pass a handsome modern bridge of three circular arches, constructed of stone, thrown across the Avon at about half a mile distant from the town. The river from hence winds gently through a fertile and expanded valley, till we reach the village of Newbold; which, from its eminent situation, commands a beautiful and extensive prospect on every side. The canal is conducted through a subterraneous passage beneath part of the church-yard of Newbold, and from this point highly increases the beauty of the surrounding scene, which includes an extended view of the meandering course of our gentle Avon, through a verdant space of fertile valleys. The spire of the church in the distance of the landscape belongs to the village at Bilton, which may well be considered as classical ground, having been the residence of Mr. Addison; a name that will ever be

held in esteem by the admirer of sound criticism, chaste humour, and a correct and attic style of composition. Veneration for the character of this eminent man leads me to view the situation of his retreat, which stands about a mile distant from the banks of the Avon.

"The exterior of this house, though it cannot be truly denominated picturesque, may yet have a claim to attention, as it remains precisely in the state it was at the decease of its former possessor, nor has the interior suffered much change in its form or decoration.[1] The furniture and pictures hold their places with an apparent sacred attention to his memory: among the latter are three of himself, at different periods of his life, in each of which is strongly marked with the pencil the ease of the gentleman, and open and ingenuous character of the friend to humanity. Two good portraits are likewise hanging near his own of his friend Mr. Secretary Craggs.

"Some others of Vandyck, Van Somers, Lilly, &c., that were purchased by Mr. Addison, are to be found in other apartments, sufficient to evince that his taste was not confined to writing alone. In the grounds a long walk of beautiful Spanish chesnuts and oaks running in a straight line still hold their primitive appearance; here he was accustomed to pass the hours in that musing, and in those reflections, from which the public have gathered so rich a fruit: it retains the name of Addison's Walk. This form of a straight line is that to which, in his earliest youth, he seems to have been attached; as part of the walks in Magdalen College, which are fashioned upon this model, still pass there under his name.

"The Spanish oaks in these grounds are said to have been the first that were planted in this country; the acorns were given to him by his friend Craggs, who brought them from Spain.

"In a kind of hermitage in this walk I found the following verses:

[1] Mr. Wm. Howitt, who visited Addison's house at Bilton in 1845, and describes it in his 'Homes and Haunts,' concludes thus: "Such are the paintings at Bilton. They include a most interesting group of the friends and contemporaries of Addison, besides others. It is a rare circumstance that they have been permitted to remain there, when his library and his medals have been dispersed. Altogether Bilton is one of the most satisfactory specimens of the homes and haunts of our departed literary men."

Sequestered from the world, oh! let me dwell,
With contemplation in this lonely cell;
By mortal eye unseen, I will explore
The various works of nature's bounteous store;
Revisit oft each flower, whose blossom fair
With fragrant sweets perfumes the ambient air;
Pry into every shrub, and mark its way
From birth to growth, from growth to sure decay:
Or else with humble thoughts my eyes I 'll bend,
And view the near resemblance of my end;
Then think of death, and of eternal days,
Learn how to die, my Maker how to praise,
All ways despise that draw my mind from this,
Then strive to gain an endless age of bliss.

"I do not know that these lines were Mr. Addison's, but there is something in their versification that renders them not unworthy a recital. This estate was purchased by Mr. Addison in the year 1711 of the younger son of Sir William Broughton, for the sum of £10,000; in the purchase he was assisted by his brother, Mr. Gulstone Addison, Governor of Fort St. George at Madras, in which station he succeeded Governor Pitt, distinguished by the appellation of Diamond Pitt.

"At the decease of Mr. Addison, in 1719, this estate came to his widow, the Countess of Warwick, from whom it devolved on their daughter, the present Miss Addison, whom I had the honour of seeing, at this visit, with no small degree of respect and veneration. This lady was born about a twelvemonth before the death of her father, who, as some vague reports in the country say, left a large trunk of manuscripts, with a strict injunction that they should not be opened till her decease;[1] if this be true, the polite and learned may, at a future day, expect what may yet further magnify the revered name of Addison."

Ireland's Warwickshire Avon.

ADDISON'S DAUGHTER.

In the Gentleman's Magazine for March, 1797, we find the following: "At Bilton, near Rugby, in Warwickshire,

[1] It is not known what became of these MSS. If the love-letters between Addison and the Countess of Warwick could be found, they would, no doubt, be highly interesting. The publisher of the present volume has made inquiries for them in every probable direction, without the least success.

died Miss Addison, only surviving daughter of the celebrated Joseph Addison, Esq., born just before his death, in 1718, by Sarah, Countess Dowager of Warwick, daughter of Thomas Dashwood, Esq., Alderman of London. Miss Addison was buried at Bilton, on the 10th of March. Many years since, she made her last will in favour of the third son of Lord Bradford, who now comes in for her estate. There are left at her house at Bilton several portraits of Mr. Addison and his friends, and his library, which, it is presumed, contains many valuable books and MSS. She inherited her father's memory, but none of the discriminating powers of his understanding; with the retentive faculties of Jedediah Buxton,[1] she was a perfect imbecile. She could go on in any part of her father's works, or repeat the whole, but was incapable of speaking or writing an intelligible sentence."

In a succeeding number[2] of the same Magazine, a correspondent has corrected some errors in the above account, and as the writer appears to speak from personal acquaintance with this lady, we subjoin his remarks.

"Looking into your obituary, I saw an account of Miss Addison, the daughter of the author of the Spectator. The circumstances that relate to her family are certainly very erroneous. The Countess her mother's Christian name was *Charlotte*, and the father of the Countess was Sir Thomas Middleton, of Chirk Castle, Denbighshire; and her mother's surname was Bridgman. The Countess was an only daughter. Miss Addison was born in London, and was twelve years old when the Countess died; was educated at a school in Queen's Square, and afterwards had a house of her own in Burlington Street. Perhaps the report which you have given in your useful miscellany about the strength of her memory and the weakness of her understanding, is almost as wide from the truth as the account of her family. I have not conversed very frequently with her; but enough to be convinced that her memory, though good, was not so extraordinary as is represented. I have heard her repeat some of the poetical parts of the Spectator, which she did with considerable accuracy of memory, and great propriety of emphasis.

[1] A wonderful self-taught calculator, born at Elmeton in Derbyshire, 1704. See *Kirby's Wonderful Museum IV.* p. 119.

[2] For May, 1797.

But I do not believe that she could have repeated one prose paper out of all her father's works. She could have given an account of the contents of many. She read them frequently. I have been told that she spoke French with fluency; and a person who had opportunities of observing informed me that she spelt it with correctness. She was very deaf; but when she could hear the questions which were put to her, she answered them with sound judgment and a steady recollection. So far is it from being true that she could not write or speak a single sentence intelligibly, that I am persuaded she could do both as well as the generality of other people. It is true that she was in no respect to be compared with her father in point of understanding; but how few are those that can admit of such a comparison! It is by no means true, that she was an *imbecile*, or such a prodigy of memory. Her memory was strong, but not marvellous; her understanding was good, but not particularly great. It was beneath admiration, and far above contempt. It must not be dissembled that it was at intervals clouded, but not for any great continuance of time; and perhaps she possessed her faculties in the extreme period of her life as well and as fully as in any of the former."

(Signed) "H. R."

ADDISON'S LIBRARY.

Some time after the death of Miss Addison, the books which she left were removed from Bilton, and disposed of by public auction in London.

Curiosity was much awakened on this occasion; as it was hoped some relic or memorial might be found in many of the volumes in the hand-writing of Miss Addison's illustrious father. Herein, however, the public were a good deal disappointed, nothing of the kind appearing; and only a few of the volumes were distinguished by his name in his own hand-writing; so that these books fetched in general no higher prices than might have been obtained for the same works from almost any other collection.[1]

[1] Addison's Library is not fairly represented by the Catalogue of the sale, which took place eighty years after his death. His daughter (who died March, 1797) is not unlikely to have given away many of the books during her long life, and Addison's literary executor would most probably have obtained all his annotated volumes and manuscripts.

The library consisted of eight hundred and fifty-six lots, and was sold by Messrs. Leigh and Sotheby, on the 27th of May, 1799, and three following days. It produced £456 2*s.* 9*d.* And on the fifth day were sold the medals, jewels, &c., for £97 2*s.* 2*d.* The most interesting lots were the following.

Lot 800. A manuscript supposed to be written either by Mr. Addison or Mr. Tickell, declaring the authors of the greatest part of the numbers in the Eighth Volume of the Spectator, which have never been announced to the public. *A single half-sheet.* 3*s.* 6*d.* *Bindley.*

Lot 880. The Countess of Warwick, daughter of the Earl of Manchester, and her son, *a half-length.*

Lot 881. The Earl of Warwick, first husband to Mrs. Addison, *whole-length*, by Sir Godfrey Kneller.

These two lots were sold together for 15*s.* *Cooper.*

THE END.

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ERRATA.

Vol. v. p. 324, note, for *Nicholl's* read *Nichol's*.
330, line 6 from bottom, add accent to *Abbé*.
331, add accents to *Châteaulun* and *Vendôme*.
335, note [1]. Dr. Chartlett's letters are not published in Aubrey's Bodleian Collection.
365, note [1], for 1797 read 1707.
374, note [4], read *Universelle*.
418, note [1], for *Lamberts* read *Lamberty*.
Vol. vi. p. 537, in line 18 of Poem, for *thirsty* read *thirst*.
681, line 13 from bottom, for *and* read *but*. It should also be observed that these 'Whiston and Ditton' lines are not *published* in the name of *Gay*, but are merely assigned to him in an old MS. note found in the volume whence they are taken, and which consists chiefly of Swift's pieces.
726, line 10 from top, for 1701 read 1710.

DIRECTIONS TO THE BINDER.

Substitute the new double TITLES to the first four volumes, and place the CONTENTS to vols. ii., iii., and iv. in their respective places.

Prefix the PREFACE and the ADDISONIAN CHRONOLOGY to vol. i.

Substitute the leaf subscribed THOS. TICKELL, for that erroneously bearing the name of R. WORCESTER, at page xii. of the first volume.

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reign; at which time he carefully perused the ancient writings, which furnish the materials for it. His continual employment in business prevented him from executing it, till he resigned his office of Secretary of State; and his death put a period to it, when he had imperfectly performed only one half of the design; he having proposed, as appears from the introduction, to add the Jewish to the Heathen testimonies for the truth of the Christian history. He was more assiduous than his health would well allow in the pursuit of this work; and had long determined to dedicate his poetry also, for the future, wholly to religious subjects.

Soon after he was, from being one of the Lords Commissioners of Trade, advanced to the post of Secretary of State, he found his health impaired by the return of that asthmatic indisposition, which continued often to afflict him during his exercise of that employment, and at last obliged him to beg his Majesty's leave to resign. His freedom from the anxiety of business so far re-established his health, that his friends began to hope he might last for many years; but (whether it were from a life too sedentary, or from his natural constitution, in which was one circumstance very remarkable, that, from his cradle, he never had a regular pulse) a long and painful relapse into an asthma and dropsy deprived the world of this great man, on the 17th of June, 1719. He left behind him only one daughter, by the Countess of Warwick, to whom he was married in the year 1716.

Not many days before his death, he gave me directions to collect his writings, and at the same time committed to my care the Letter addrest to Mr. Craggs, (his successor as Secretary of State,) wherein he bequeaths them to him, as a token of friendship. Such a testimony, from the first man of our age, in such a point of time, will be, perhaps, as great and lasting an honour to that gentleman, as any even he could acquire to himself; and yet is no more than was due from an affection, that justly increased towards him through the intimacy of several years. I cannot, without the utmost tenderness, reflect on the kind concern with which Mr. Addison left me as a sort of encumbrance upon this valuable legacy. Nor must I deny myself the honour to acknowledge, that the goodness of that great man to me, like many other of his amiable qualities, seemed not so much to be renewed as

continued in his successor; who made me an example, that nothing could be indifferent to him which came recommended by Mr. Addison.

Could any circumstance be more severe to me, while I was executing these last commands of the author, than to see the person, to whom his works were presented, cut off in the flower of his age, and carried from the high office wherein he had succeeded Mr. Addison, to be laid next him in the same grave! I might dwell upon such thoughts as naturally rise from these minute resemblances in the fortune of two persons, whose names, probably, will be seldom mentioned asunder, while either our language or story subsist, were I not afraid of making this preface too tedious; especially since I shall want all the patience of the reader, for having enlarged it with the following verses.

THOS. TICKELL.

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